

Provincial Reconstruction Teams: Lessons and Recommendations

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About the Woodrow Wilson School Graduate Workshop on Provincial Reconstruction Teams

The Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University provides an opportunity for graduate students in the Master's in Public Affairs program to participate in a professional workshop during the second year of the degree. Led by Robert Perito, Visiting Lecturer in Public and International Affairs, nine graduate students spent the fall semester of 2007 researching Provincial Reconstruction Teams, meeting with experts and academics that have studied and worked in PRTs, and conducting field research interviews outside of the United States.

In addition to interacting with visiting speakers familiar with the United States' PRT experience in Iraq and Afghanistan, workshop members traveled to the capitals of Canada, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, and the United Kingdom to speak with representatives from government, NGOs, think tanks, and the media. The purpose of the field research was to understand how each country has approached its PRT mission at strategic, interagency, and tactical levels. The workshop has collectively developed conclusions and recommendations on our findings, to offer advice to the United States and other countries with PRTs on how best to utilize these organizations.

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Executive Summary

There are 50 Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs): 25 in Afghanistan under the authority of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization International Security Assistance Force (NATO/ISAF), and 25 in Iraq.¹ Of these, the United States leads 12 in Afghanistan and 22 in Iraq. PRTs have become an integral part of peacekeeping and stability operations; but they have also been criticized for their mixed effectiveness, over-emphasis on military objectives and priorities, failure to effectively coordinate and communicate with the UN and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and differences in staffing and mission.

To date, there has been no comprehensive review of PRT models to evaluate effectiveness or address shortcomings. This report seeks to answer three questions in order to begin filling the knowledge gap:

- Should the United States and coalition partners continue to use PRTs?
- Are PRTs achieving the goals for which they are funded?
- What are the best practices of countries that sponsor and contribute to PRTs?

Because there is very little standardization of mission and operations across PRTs, we used the following assumptions as the basis for our analysis and research.

- Using a variety of models, missions and functions, PRTs initiate progress on reconstruction, security, and development in post-conflict environments.
- The PRT concept is part of a larger set of responses to post-conflict challenges.
- PRTs are part of an evolutionary process of civil-military relations and interagency cooperation.

In the four sections that make up the body of the report, we look at the major issues that arise for PRTs, from their management and funding in contributing countries to the coordination of activities in the field. These four sections are: Politics and Bureaucracy; Civil-Military Relations; Activities and Relationships; and Evaluating Impact. We conclude with recommendations that distill the most relevant action points for the United States government and other countries operating PRTs. Our conclusions are based on broad lessons gathered from research and interviews with stakeholders in the United States, Canada, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, and the United Kingdom. More detailed findings specific to each country can be found in Annexes A through F. A glossary of acronyms is included for reference.

Despite the absence of concrete metrics and unity of purpose, PRTs have reported enough positive feedback to suggest that sponsoring countries should continue funding them and expending energy and resources toward their improvement. However, there are limitations to their capabilities, and it is increasingly important for policy makers to clearly define PRT objectives. This will help both to guide prioritization of activities in the field and to lay the groundwork for the creation of impact-based metrics to evaluate performance.

¹ Tarnoff, C. CRS Report for Congress RL31833, *Iraq: Reconstruction Assistance*, 25 June 2007. Katzman, K. CRS Report for Congress RL30588, *Afghanistan: Post-War Governance, Security and US Policy*, 10 September 2007.

I. Introduction

Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) are civil military organizations designed to operate in semi-permissive environments usually following open hostilities.² They were designed as a transitional structure to provide improved security and to facilitate reconstruction and economic development.³

While the concept of integrated civil-military units has existed since the 1990s, PRTs were first implemented by the United States in 2002 during Operation Enduring Freedom following the invasion of Afghanistan.⁴ PRTs have since become a model used in Iraq and Afghanistan by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States, and European and other coalition members for introducing post-conflict, reconstruction, security, and development activities in areas still too hostile for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and United Nations (UN) relief agencies.

PRTs have become an integral part of peacekeeping and stability operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, but they have also been criticized for their mixed effectiveness, over-emphasis on military objectives and priorities, failure to effectively coordinate and communicate with UN and NGO organizations, and differences in staffing and mission. Today, there are 50 PRTs: 25 in Afghanistan under the authority of the NATO International Security Assistance Force (NATO/ISAF), and 25 in Iraq.⁵ Of these, the United States leads 12 in Afghanistan and 22 in Iraq.

In Afghanistan, PRTs are led by multiple NATO countries under NATO/ISAF control and have evolved in response to different environments. They vary in structure, size, and mission. Among current PRTs, three distinctive models stand out:

- A US model averaging 80 personnel of which 3 to 5 are civilians; led by a military commander; with an emphasis on quick impact projects, and usually operating in volatile areas.
- A U.K. model averaging 100 personnel of which around 30 are civilians; led by a civilian; with an emphasis on local capacity building, and an ability to operate in volatile areas.
- A German model averaging 400 personnel of which around 20 are civilians; a 'dual-headed' leadership of one military and one civilian leader; an emphasis on long-term sustainable development, and operating in more permissive areas.

In Iraq, US PRTs are under State Department control, led by a senior Foreign Service officer (FSO), and sometimes embedded within military brigades or regiments (these are known as embedded PRTs, or 'ePRTs'). While PRTs are related to humanitarian efforts, unlike NGO and UN relief organizations, they seek to achieve the political ends of their sponsoring governments by extending the reach of the host government and providing strategies to improve security and governance in conflicted regions.⁶

PRTs in Afghanistan and Iraq lack an overarching strategy, set of common objectives, and a common concept of operation and organizational structure. Metrics to assess the success and impact of current PRT models are also missing from national PRT strategies. Shortfalls in staffing and the deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan and Iraq have made it difficult for PRTs to function effectively. The importance of personalities, donor countries' political caveats, and imbalances in program funding have also negatively affected PRT performance. However, there are examples of best practices that can address these problems.

² Center for Army Lessons Learned, *PRT Playbook*, No. 07-34, September 2007, p. 1.

³ US Department of State, *Fact Sheet: Provincial Reconstruction Teams*, www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/60085.htm, accessed 1 December 2007.

⁴ *ISAF PRT Handbook*, Edition 3, 3 February 2007.

⁵ Tarnoff, C., op. cit., and Katzman, K., op. cit.

⁶ Honore, R. and Boslego, D., *Forging Provincial Reconstruction Teams*, National Defense University Press, Issue 44, 1st Quarter 2007.

II. Analytic Framework

PRTs are designed for areas where direct hostilities have ceased but conflict still poses a threat, and where the focus on rebuilding host government capacity has just begun. Unlike previous international peacemaking missions, Iraq and Afghanistan are unique because the United States and its coalition allies have functioned as both combatant and occupying forces. PRTs have been used in the absence of a definitive peace to improve local administrative capacity, enhance security, and develop opportunities for growth.

Because there is little standardization of mission and operations across PRTs (both within and between Iraq and Afghanistan) we used the following assumptions as a basis for our analysis and research.

- Using a variety of models, missions and functions, PRTs initiate progress on reconstruction, security, and development in post-conflict environments.
- The PRT concept is part of a larger universe of responses to post-conflict challenges.
- PRTs are part of an evolutionary process of civil-military relations and interagency cooperation.

In the following four sections of the paper, we look at major issues arising for PRTs, from their management and funding in capital cities of contributing countries to the coordination of activities in the field. The sections are: Politics and Bureaucracy; Civil-Military Relations; Activities and Relationships; and Evaluating Impact. We conclude with a recommendations section that distills the most relevant action points for the United States Government and other countries operating PRTs. This paper is based on the broad lessons pulled from fieldwork and interviews with stakeholders in the US, Canada, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, and the U.K. More detailed findings specific to each country can be found in Annexes A through F.

III. Politics and Bureaucracy

PRTs are heavily shaped by the contributing country's political priorities and capabilities.

Domestic political constraints and priorities in the capitals of PRT-contributing countries are often directly translated into a PRT's operational priorities. This diversity in field operations can negatively impact unity of effort and purpose across PRTs and creates the challenge of reconciling various PRT models in a multinational context. In Afghanistan, even NATO coordination has not mitigated this problem. Politics aside, different countries' capacities may make such variety necessary. A country like Iceland, which has no regular military forces, can contribute expertise to a PRT. However, it cannot be expected to operate within the same framework as a country with a large and well-developed military.

Some governments frame the public discussion of PRTs to minimize the impression that their armed forces are at risk or might sustain casualties. The presence of German troops in Afghanistan is framed in terms of development and humanitarian assistance. The Italian government calls its effort in Iraq a Reconstruction Support Unit (RSU) instead of a PRT to emphasize the non-military nature of Italy's mission. While Germany, Italy, and Iceland recognize the symbiotic relationship between an improved provincial security environment and effective development, they are extremely sensitive to framing PRTs' objectives and operations in terms of counterinsurgency (COIN) efforts because of domestic public opinion. In contrast, though not always explicitly articulated as a strategic goal, the US, and to a lesser extent the U.K., seek to advance COIN and counterterrorist objectives through their PRTs. These national considerations are reflected in field operations. Under very restrictive Rules of Engagement, the Italian and German PRT military contingents provide force protection while minimizing kinetic operations. Both countries operate in some of the safest provinces of Afghanistan: Germany in Kunduz and Badakhshan, and Italy in Herat. Italy's PRT in Iraq is in Dhi Qar province, also considered relatively safe.

Institutional integration affects PRT operations.

Field-level PRT planning and organization are directly impacted by the presence (or lack) of a standing institutionalized interagency organization in the donor country's capital. Countries that have genuinely recognized the need for joint efforts by their development, defense and diplomacy agencies appear to have more success than others. This 'whole of government' approach to nation building is becoming a salient feature of literature on the subject and gaining traction in a number of countries. New organizations such as the US State Department's Office for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), Canada's Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START), and the U.K.'s Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU) attempt to address the unique bureaucratic needs of planning for and operating in post-conflict environments. Interagency coordination in capitals is necessary, but not sufficient, for successful cooperation.

The British government has been recognized for its ability to coordinate the three key ministries involved in post conflict stabilization. In Mazar-e-Sharif, Britain's first PRT in Afghanistan, all planning and operations were coordinated by a 'triumvirate' of lead staff from the three ministries. The members of this coordinating group were equally engaged in PRT activities and developed a high level of cohesion. Hiring staff across ministries also promoted cohesion and encouraged cross-pollination among agencies in London. The PCRU was established in July 2004 to conduct joint assessments and planning, increase rapid deployment capacity, and centralize expertise. It is increasingly relied on and has taken the lead in planning for Britain's PRT in Helmand, Afghanistan. Before the PRT was established, PCRU staff visited Helmand with civilian and military personnel to identify objectives and delineate tasks. This resulted in a greater degree of coherence in planning and operations.

Where countries have failed to coordinate interagency efforts in the capital, PRT progress on the ground has been negatively impacted.

Early on in their experience, the Italian government's weak level of coordination between the civilian and military ministries in Rome set a poor example for overall coordination within the PRT in Afghanistan. Poor interagency relations in Rome created misunderstandings about the purpose and focus of the PRT, resulting in de facto subordination of the civilian personnel to the military. This abdication of responsibilities to the military then caused a delay in the civilian participation in PRT operations. The US and Canadian experiences have also shown that institutional cultural friction sometimes causes turf battles between military and civilian personnel in the PRT.

III. Politics and Bureaucracy

Smaller bureaucracies promote interagency coordination.

Countries with smaller bureaucracies have more flexibility to react to complex contingencies that require them to transition from traditional missions and focus. Among the countries studied in this report, the Lithuanian PRT experienced the least friction and bureaucratic barriers among its agencies. Interaction can also be significantly promoted when departmental offices are physically located in close proximity to one another, as in the U.K. Co-location, along with smaller numbers of personnel, makes frequent joint meetings possible and improves communication and coordination.

Common funding of PRTs promotes greater unity of effort and purpose among participating government agencies.

In the U.K., the issue of disparate resourcing between agencies has been handled through the planned creation of a 'Stabilization Fund' that will operate on a 'triple key' system requiring the sign-off of the three ministries involved in the PRTs. The relative importance of development agencies in both the U.K. and Germany has oriented PRTs' development focus towards a more long-term and sustainable approach. The development agencies in both countries have ministerial rank, and most PRT development funding is provided by these agencies, while the military has very little dedicated funding for small QIPs. The contrasting case is the US, where the DoD typically receives the largest amount of financial and technical resources. This imbalance reduces the 'voice' of other agencies in interagency planning and operations. US National Security Presidential Directive 44, which grants the DoS authority over the civilian aspects of post-conflict reconstruction, did not fundamentally alter the intra-governmental balance of power.

IV. Civil-Military Relations

PRTs improve civil-military coordination.

The analogue to a successful ‘whole of government’ approach in the field is the effectiveness of civil-military relations. Pressure to forge a coherent approach to post-conflict reconstruction using the strengths of multiple government agencies gave rise to PRTs. The close interaction of agencies on the ground maintains a reverse pressure on home capitals to institutionalize this approach. Theoretically, PRTs represent a laboratory of joint civil-military effort towards state building. The countries surveyed for this report all indicated that PRTs are a learning experience in civil-military relations. Each recognized opportunities for improved coordination; however, PRTs managed by Britain, Canada, and Lithuania have better civil-military relations in the field than Italy, Germany, and the US.

Civilian-led PRTs shift the objectives from security towards long-term development.

PRTs with a larger civilian presence tend to balance the military, political and development priorities more effectively than those with a very small civilian presence. Even when the PRT is led by a military commander, the presence of several dozen civilians shapes priorities. For example, German PRTs have a ‘double headed’ structure that includes a military and political officer as joint leaders. The British PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif was led jointly by a ‘triumvirate’ of military, diplomatic, and development personnel who shared decision-making responsibilities and coordinated their activities. However, the early success of this PRT and the praise that was heaped upon the British model has not been replicated, even by the British themselves. Regardless of who is leading the PRT, command and control can still be an issue. Many capitals report difficulties with PRT staff reporting only to their home departments. The Italians reported the presence of conflicting guidance and direction between the military command at ISAF and the three separate national chains of command from Rome. Furthermore, separation between the military and development aspects of the German and Italian PRTs in Afghanistan extended to personnel being located in different parts of the city.

Joint pre-deployment training significantly affects staff coordination in the field.

Although there are ongoing efforts to train military and civilian PRT staff together prior to deployment, such as the US program that trains personnel going to Iraq, these efforts fall short of what is needed. Most government staff do not have prior experience working in joint civil-military environments, largely because existing systems do not reward such choices. They require significant time to learn how to operate together effectively in an intense and diverse environment. Lithuania provides joint training and coordinates the deployment timing and duration of civilian and military staff. In other PRTs, civilian and military personnel generally serve different tour lengths, which leads to disjointed rotations that can impede team-building, coordination, and the transfer of knowledge and experience.

Personalities play an important role in PRTs.

In capitals, personalities are important in managing intra- and inter-ministerial cooperation, but in the field, the personality effect is even more pronounced. Where personalities clash, initiatives become stovepiped or are frustrated. Where mutual respect and appreciation for the specialized expertise of each side are present (as with the U.K. PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif) PRT activities have more coherence and achieve better outcomes.

Two success stories indicate that making the right personnel selections with regard to personality can play a significant role. The two-year tour of a British diplomat who spoke the local language, interacted with local leaders and their families, and provided valuable cultural context for her military counterparts influenced the success of the PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif. Dr. Anna Prouse, the Italian PRT leader in Dhi Qar, is credited with much of the PRT’s success due to her long experience in Iraq, energy, and ability to work well with the surrounding military units.

The agency that controls funding heavily influences PRT priorities.

The agencies that control PRT resources, although not the only factor involved, play a crucial role in influencing activities. When the military does not have sizeable money to spend for its own projects, military personnel are forced to work more closely with their development and political counterparts. On the other hand, this dynamic is reversed when the military is the primary funding source and can lead to an over-emphasis on short-term, security-related projects out of sync with long-term development plans. The US military has access to much larger (and more quickly-released) funds than its development counterparts. In the U.K., DFID maintains control over most of the project funds, and so has

IV. Civil-Military Relations

greater ability to determine the priorities of spending. This has led to less emphasis on QIPs and more on long-term development and capacity building activities. The diplomatic branch in Canada (DFAIT) predominantly controls disbursements of funds.

V. Activities and Relationships

PRTs engage in a diverse assortment of activities across Iraq and Afghanistan. Decisions regarding which activities are undertaken and the manner in which they are pursued are influenced by several factors, including the primary source of funding as discussed above. Other factors include the interplay of conditions in which the PRT is operating (i.e. the security situation and local capacity considerations); the PRT's capabilities and resources; and political constraints imposed by authorities in national capitals.

PRTs operate within the overall framework of national and provincial development plans and bilateral military and development assistance that donor governments provide, of which funding channeled through PRTs represents only a small fraction. Ideally, PRTs are well-embedded within this broader national approach; in some cases, the development agency representative to the PRT wears a dual hat and oversees the implementation of national-level development assistance programs within his or her geographic jurisdiction.

Contrary to popular perception, PRTs are not intended or equipped to engage in offensive combat operations. In Afghanistan, there are numerous cases where as few as a hundred soldiers are nominally responsible for vast swaths of territory. Expectations that a small military unit can influence regional security are overly optimistic. Among nations operating PRTs in the more peaceful west and north, they are definitively not considered to be COIN tools. Only the Brits, who have lead-nation responsibility for drugs in Afghanistan, involve their PRT in counter-narcotics. The following represents a brief overview and assessment of the types of activities in which PRTs engage in both Iraq and Afghanistan. These efforts can broadly be categorized in three separate but interrelated realms: reconstruction, governance, and security.

Reconstruction

Effective PRTs integrate local institutions.

A balance must be forged between the desire to efficiently implement projects and demonstrate rapid success, and the need to more patiently strengthen and build the capacity of provincial-level officials. Increasingly, this balance seems to be tipping towards the latter approach. The most effective PRTs work in close collaboration with provincial institutions, and most PRTs in Iraq and Afghanistan now coordinate with Provincial Reconstruction and Development Councils (PRDCs) and Provincial Development Committees (PRCs) to plan and implement their activities. These bodies allow local officials to serve as the focal point for project initiation, discussion, and approval. The Italian PRT in Dhi Qar, Iraq, where the PRT team leader meets weekly with the PRDC to prioritize tasks, coordinate, and gain project approval, is emblematic of this active and positive working relationship.

Germany has established a Provincial Development Fund from which local communities, often acting through Community Development Councils (CDCs) set up under the auspices of the government's National Solidarity Program (NSP), can apply for financial assistance for projects of their choosing. The proposals are then jointly evaluated by an eight-member committee comprised of provincial-level officials and one representative from each of the four German ministries represented in the PRT. These collaborative relationships have been effective at linking communities with provincial-level structures, building the capacity and legitimacy of provincial governments and CDCs, and reinforcing existing initiatives such as the NSP.

The military's role in reconstruction is highly variable.

Some PRT military units, including those of the US and Italy, can autonomously fund QIPs. The purpose of such projects is often to gain acceptance from locals of the PRT's presence. A military role in stability and humanitarian projects through Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) teams is a logical necessity in high-conflict environments. In areas where the security situation is more permissive, civilian development agency representatives are able to freely operate, and international and local NGOs are numerous, military involvement in reconstruction has elicited criticism that the military's short-term focus is displacing opportunities to pursue long-term development goals and may undermine local authorities. One foreign ministry official indicated that if a PRT's military component builds schools without first coordinating with the Department of Education for teachers and materials, the oversight is most likely to be attributed by the public

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to the incompetence of the government rather than poor planning on the part of the PRT.⁷ Many other contributing countries' militaries do not have access to such funds, narrowing the scope of this problem.

Concerns about humanitarian space continue to fuel NGO skepticism.

NGOs question military involvement in reconstruction activities because of fears about the shrinkage of “humanitarian space” when PRT areas of operation overlap with their own. These complaints have persisted despite improvements since the clumsy initial forays of PRTs into the development sphere in Afghanistan. While reliant on international military forces to provide a secure environment in which they can operate, NGOs consistently express worries that CIMIC projects implemented by PRTs place their personnel at risk by blurring the distinction between combatants and civilians. PRTs have responded by arguing that simply receiving money from international sources makes NGOs a target by those seeking to disrupt the current order. International NGOs generally assert their independence from PRTs and minimize their direct interaction with military forces.

Increasing interagency cooperation within PRTs, without blurring the civil-military distinction, is one of the most significant challenges that PRTs face.

Development ministries and agencies can better act as intermediaries between PRTs and NGOs when there is a clear separation of roles within the PRT. One example of clear separation of roles is in German PRTs, where development personnel share the NGO community's concerns about maintaining separation between civilian and military tasks. These personnel decline to receive a military escort when traveling around the province. German and British CIMIC teams have very little funding to engage in QIPs, and instead prioritize liaising with local communities and identifying needs for development experts to address. Within such contexts, NGO representatives are more comfortable with the development component of the PRT, thereby allowing for fruitful coordination, exchange of information and best practices, and in some cases, even cooperation. Where the separation between civilian and military elements has not been as clear (as with the Italian PRT in Heart) communication and coordination between NGOs and the PRT have been poor.

Governance

In Iraq, the primary focus of PRTs has been to improve the capacity of provincial government bodies.

PRT personnel work closely with governors, provincial councils, and provincial representatives of government ministries to facilitate cooperation and improve ability to manage public finances, execute planning and budgeting, and implement projects using central government funds. The emphasis on improving budget execution appears to be shared across US, British, and Italian PRTs in Iraq and has achieved success in a number of provinces.

Sustainable economic development and loyalty to fledgling government bodies will be elusive if government institutions lack competence and integrity.

In Afghanistan, infrastructure projects are giving way to governance and capacity building. While the devastation of infrastructure after nearly three decades of war continues to pose serious challenges, there is growing consensus that governance deficiencies are reaching crisis proportions and are contributing to the resurgence of the Taliban. Nonetheless, there has been no coordinated effort to refocus assistance, either among PRTs or across broader national programs.

Security

The direct impact of PRT military forces on security is limited.

PRTs are intended to contribute to the security environment by providing an international presence in areas otherwise largely devoid of government entities. While military patrols throughout the PRT area of operations may contribute to the overall security presence, their ability to contribute to security outside of the cities where they are based is limited by the small size of their lightly armed military components relative to the vast territory in which they are situated. Although larger PRTs may be somewhat more capable of projecting security out into rural districts, even those with 300 or more soldiers are far too small to effect a significant security improvement over several thousand square miles. Man-

⁷ Interview, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Official, Rome, 2 November 2007.

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agement of expectations of both local populations and in national capitals is crucial. A stronger argument for military patrols relates to their importance in collecting intelligence and identifying humanitarian needs, rather than as sources of security. However, when used in this way, patrols may blur the civil-military line and place PRTs in direct conflict with the principles of NGOs.

PRTs add value to security sector reform in Afghanistan.

The security sector reform effort in Afghanistan is a multibillion dollar initiative of international donors, particularly the United States. Though small-scale in comparison, PRTs have used their own resources to train Afghan National Police (ANP) and Afghan National Army (ANA) units, provide equipment and mentoring, and construct police stations and Provincial Security Coordination Centers. PRT military staff also conducts patrols with Afghan counterparts, placing Afghan units at the forefront of joint operations when possible. Given that the small size of PRT military forces precludes them from providing an enduring improvement in security throughout the provinces where they operate, adding value in a coordinated way to assist the ANA and ANP in becoming competent, viable entities may represent a more efficacious use of resources than periodic patrols of questionable impact.

In less threatening environments in both Iraq and Afghanistan, the need to maintain a strict civilian identity should outweigh the desire for a more robust provider of security.

The desirability of close protection for civilian personnel varies. PRTs' military components provide close protection for civilian agency representatives in the PRT's area of operations. In the more volatile regions of southern and eastern Afghanistan, security provision by military elements continues to be standard practice; but in more peaceful areas of Afghanistan, even with the deterioration in security over the last two years, this role is increasingly being minimized. German development personnel have long eschewed traveling through Kunduz and Badakhshan with military support. More recently in Herat, Italian foreign ministry and development agency personnel have contracted a local security company for protection in an effort to establish a greater degree of separation from the military portion of the PRT.

VI. Evaluating Impact

While volatile security environments are an unavoidable reality for PRTs, the lack of agreed definitions of broad PRT goals is not.

Almost five years after the establishment of the first PRT, the extent to which they are meant to be a mechanism for development, security, COIN, or even a partnership between agencies on the ground is undefined. This may reflect the still non-institutionalized nature of PRTs, or countries' desire to maintain independence in their operations. While the latter is an important political consideration, a clear and unified vision of the role and scope of PRTs is a necessary first step toward creating metrics that will facilitate objective evaluations of PRT performance.

There has been no systematic country-wide evaluation of the impact of PRTs in Afghanistan or Iraq.

Instead, PRTs record inputs such as the numbers and types of staff, and some outputs, such as kilometers of road commissioned and numbers of trainings conducted. Even these types of evaluation are ad hoc, however, and vary significantly between contributing countries. Determining impact is always complex. Two realities of PRT operations make it difficult to develop a useful set of consistent metrics: PRTs operate in volatile security environments; and individual PRTs are vastly different in their structures and goals. A volatile security environment often means it is difficult to measure the effects of the PRT against an improvised and constantly shifting plan. This issue has been particularly stark in southern Afghanistan, where increased violence has dramatically altered the goals and approach of ISAF and coalition PRTs. It was also true of PRTs' first year in Iraq. Non-permissiveness hinders the ability of a surveyor to acquire information on impact through opinion surveys or focus groups.

PRTs are effective as part of a larger effort.

While PRT staff members report positive effects of their projects, this evidence is anecdotal and is not based on a comprehensive-outcomes or cost-benefit analysis. The overall influence of PRTs is highly variable and generally remains undetermined. Many NGOs claim that PRTs decrease humanitarian space. The recent escalation of violence in Afghanistan and decreased public opinion of the government suggest that while PRTs may be contributing positively, their efforts alone are insufficient to reach broader goals of security and increasing the authority of the central government. Still, when used as one element of a larger plan, they can play a positive role.

PRT personnel report their work's positive influences.

Despite the absence of a consistent set of outcome-based metrics, PRT staff report a positive effect on the environments in which they work. In each capital visited for this research, returned staff suggested that they are able to contribute to both development and security improvements. They often urge a realistic timetable for evaluation of their projects because certain outcomes, particularly those related to development, will not be visible for years. Those who operate in sufficiently permissive areas with relative mobility note immediate results from their work and believe that at least part of it is sustainable. In Iraq, PRT staff cite the technical support they provided to provincial authorities during the budgetary process as increasing the capacity of the government to execute its duties. In Afghanistan, PRT staff report a wide range of achievements in diplomacy, development and defense, including conflict resolution activities, infrastructure construction, and increased security in the northern region.

PRT staff also note their positive influence on the effort to approach post-conflict issues more holistically. PRTs exert reverse pressure on national bureaucracies to coordinate more effectively. This coordination increases interagency understanding back home and in the field. Moreover, countries with PRTs are better prepared to conduct effective post-conflict activities in the future, especially when significant institutionalization of the 'whole of government' approach has occurred, such as in Canada or Britain.

VII. Recommendations

We framed our research in terms of three broad questions:

- Should the United States and coalition partners continue to use PRTs?
- Are PRTs achieving the goals for which they are funded?
- What are the best practices of countries that sponsor and contribute to PRTs?

We conclude that the United States and coalition partners should continue to use PRTs and fund their activities. The second question is more challenging, as the goals and objectives of the vast array of PRTs have been neither clearly articulated nor standardized. Nonetheless, PRTs do appear to be making progress (albeit slow and uneven) towards the establishment of security, governance and reconstruction in certain areas of Iraq and Afghanistan. Finally, our research has led to a number of recommendations. Based on our qualitative survey of PRTs operated by the US and its international partners, the following recommendations for US PRTs are derived from the best practices and lessons learned detailed in the previous sections of this report.

United States National Coordination

- The ‘whole of government’ approach should be strengthened through dedicated congressional appropriations.

In order to more effectively deal with the challenges of simultaneously working on reconstruction and conflict-prevention in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan, the US must strive to better integrate the various agencies and departments working on issues related to these countries. Due to the complexity of the problems and situations arising from engagement in such areas, a cross-governmental approach is the only one that makes sense. This approach is critical in order to avoid the stovepiping of initiatives or overlapping of mandates.

The US government must be able to count on adequate and timely appropriations for programs related to its ‘whole of government’ approach. This includes funding for coordination of disparate government agencies and hiring and retention of qualified staff. These initiatives must have a dedicated funding stream to avoid being undermined.

- The Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) should be better funded and given more control over PRT planning and operations.

The mission of S/CRS is to coordinate civilian agencies within the government that are working on issues related to emergencies and post-conflict situations. Similar organizations exist in other countries such as Canada, which has a Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) and Britain, which has implemented a Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU). Each of these organizations is relatively new and has continued to face challenges in accomplishing their stated goals. However, they are an essential first step toward coordinating the work of relative agencies. S/CRS should be given more control and authority over PRT operations in order to streamline interagency coordination. The first step towards achieving this increased strength and standing is more funding.

- Hiring and work practices must be re-evaluated to ensure that the best people are chosen to work as PRT personnel.

Coordination between PRTs and local actors and among government departments is difficult or even impossible if personalities clash. Within PRTs, coordination between staff is even more important to smoothly execute day to day activities and decision making. It is critical that the government take measures to ensure that potential employees are appropriately vetted. The government must also implement personnel incentives and rewards that will encourage highly qualified people to choose PRTs as part of a career path dedicated to the execution of complex government operations in conflict or post-conflict societies.

VII. Recommendations

Multilateral Coordination

- The United States and its international partners should set common standards for PRTs and make provision for wide participation of countries within the level of their abilities.

Each country running or participating in a PRT does so depending on lessons previously learned in the field, domestic political constraints, and the personalities and experience of those involved. Adding to the challenge, NATO and Coalition members place political caveats on their PRT operations. In the interest of NATO and allied solidarity, burden-sharing, and universality, the US government should accept, to a certain degree, countries to participate on their terms, even if it makes coordination challenging. While pragmatically accepting the necessary variance in PRT operations across nations, greater standardization is needed to provide international partners with common goals and objectives, as well as examples of best practices.

Interagency Cooperation in the Field

- Like the PRTs in Iraq, all PRTs in Afghanistan should eventually be civilian-led.

Giving civilians control would help ensure that PRT operations balance the priorities of long-term development with near-term military imperatives. Some have advocated a ‘triumvirate’ approach to PRT leadership in which military, diplomatic, and reconstruction officials share command responsibility over PRT operations. The triumvirate model has worked well in select cases, notably Britain’s PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif. However, this leadership structure risks exacerbating the already personality driven nature of PRT operations, and could create problems stemming from a lack of clear command and control authority.

- Civilian-led PRTs must be fully supported by the military.

In the past, civilian-led PRTs have had difficulty obtaining consistent military support for their operations. Some US PRTs in Iraq were virtually paralyzed for prolonged periods because of an inability to secure military cooperation. Policy makers must ensure that military forces accord high priority to PRT operations, even when such operations have minimal combat value. The signing of the Memorandum of Agreement in February 2007 between DoS and DoD regarding support of PRT operations was a positive step forward in this regard.

- Pre-deployment training for PRT personnel should be mandatory, standardized, and interagency.

All PRT personnel should undergo mission related, formalized training prior to deployment. The current program to train staff going to US PRTs in Iraq is a good start, but should be expanded. Training should be standardized across all relevant government agencies, and should take place in an interagency format, bringing individuals from all participating agencies together for joint exercises. Participants should be exposed to the mandates, priorities and operations of other agencies, and should have the opportunity to conduct joint planning and decision-making exercises with members of other agencies in a controlled setting. Interagency training will also foster the development of interpersonal relationships across agency boundaries and diminish the risks for personality conflicts in the field. Potential conflicts can be foreseen and dealt with prior to deployment. Active measures must be taken prior to deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan if personnel are truly expected to demonstrate unity of purpose and effort in the field.

- Deployments should be synchronized across agencies.

Lack of coordination among agencies in replacing PRT members degrades operational efficacy. Because the interagency process is so contingent on interpersonal relationships, the loss of an old member and introduction of a new one creates can create a setback in PRT operations until new relationships are established. One way of solving this problem would

be the introduction of synchronized deployments. DoS, DoD, and USAID PRT team members should be deployed simultaneously after having undergone pre-deployment training together.

The tradeoff in such a system would be the risk of losing ‘institutional memory.’ However, this could be partially ameliorated by overlapping deployments, so that outgoing and incoming teams shared responsibilities for several weeks. Given the extraordinary sensitivity of PRT decision-making processes to interpersonal relationships, the benefit of synchronized deployments outweighs the cost. Synchronized deployments could easily be phased in as staffing levels increase.

Relations with Local Stakeholders

- Programs that include local stakeholders in decision-making should be strengthened and expanded.

Most PRTs are working to incorporate locals into the decision-making process for development projects through such mechanisms as the PRDCs in Iraq and the PDCs in Afghanistan (and in northern Afghanistan, also through the German-established Provincial Development Fund). Reviews of this collaboration have been positive; integrative efforts should be encouraged and expanded. One of the most important goals of PRT operations is to build the capacity of provincial government. Although programs aimed at teaching governance skills serve a valuable purpose, they are no substitute for directly involving local leaders in the process of project development, budgeting and oversight. A process which vests local leaders with a degree of executive authority creates a perception of legitimacy in the community, and local stakeholders who help design and implement projects feel invested in their long term success.

Assessing and Measuring Performance

- PRT objectives need to be clearly defined.

The mandates of PRTs have been broadly defined, but their objectives and specific tasks have not. Because mandates are vague, virtually any task related to stability, security or reconstruction that could potentially benefit from interagency participation default to PRTs. On the one hand, leaving PRTs exposed to such ‘mission creep’ risks overburdening them. On the other hand, the lack of clearly defined tasks has left many PRTs struggling to decide how to best expend their resources. Most importantly, neither PRT staff nor oversight agencies can accurately evaluate whether PRTs are meeting their objectives, because those objectives have not been concretely explained. Clearly defining the objectives and specific tasks that PRTs should be engaging is a matter of the highest priority for policy makers, and will lead to the development of impact-based metrics.

- Metrics should follow the establishment of objectives, be impact-based, and be measured against defined benchmarks.

Once objectives and tasks have been clearly delineated, concrete benchmarks should be set and shared with those in the PRT responsible for implementation. The benchmarks should include a qualitative or quantitative description of the desired impact, and a date by which that result is expected. Only after objectives and tasks have been clearly delineated and specific benchmarks set can meaningful impact-based metrics be defined. Under the current system, most metrics are input-based (e.g. number of dollars spent). These are easier to develop but far less valuable than impact-based metrics. Those metrics which have sought to quantify output (i.e. number of schools built, number of wells dug) have usually failed to measure truly desired outcomes (i.e. improved opinion of US forces or increased percentage of local children in primary school). Policy makers should be cognizant of desired impact and then work backwards when developing metrics.

- PRTs should be used as part of a larger set of responses to post-conflict challenges.

VII. Recommendations

Because there are no clearly defined objectives or standardization across PRTs in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is too early to tell whether they could be effective pre-conflict tools, or whether they could be used in post-conflict situations beyond Iraq and Afghanistan. Until there is more in-depth evaluation of their current impact, policy makers should avoid assigning broader mandates or ascribing the success or failure of post-conflict strategy to PRTs.

- PRT leaders and their immediate supervisors need to use public relations to manage expectations.

From the ground level, PRTs should develop public relations strategies that include local communities and host country provincial and national governments, as well as policy makers in the capital of their sponsoring country. If PRT leaders provide information about their activities to relevant stakeholders and to the public, it will help to manage expectations of their capabilities and ease the tendency for sponsoring countries to see them as a panacea for any and all situations requiring interagency attention.

Increased Funding Through PRTs

- PRT funding should be appropriated to a common pool and be capable of quick-disbursement.

Quickly available funds should be routed through common channels rather than separately through the DoD and DoS. Common funds like the U.K.'s planned 'Stabilization Fund' will encourage different agencies represented in the PRT to work together more closely. The departments will have more opportunities to communicate about their goals and objectives in a particular region if they disburse funds to the PRT through a common channel. In order to have the greatest impact possible, funding must be given out swiftly at the field level, a goal currently hampered by interagency coordination delays and anachronistic bureaucratic processes. Funding that takes too long makes it look as though the host government is incapable of supporting local communities in an organized and timely fashion, undermining its legitimacy.

Glossary of Acronyms

AA	German Foreign Office
ACE	United States Army Corps of Engineers
ADZ	Afghan Development Zone
ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
BCT	Brigade Combat Team
BMI	Federal Ministry of Interior (Germany)
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Germany)
CDC	Community Development Council
CERP	Commander's Emergency Response Program
CF	Canadian Forces
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIMIC	Civil Military Cooperation
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
COIN	Counter-Insurgency
CRC	Civilian Response Corps
CSC	Correctional Services Canada
CSP	Community Stabilization Program (Iraq)
DED	German Development Service
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Canada)
DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
DGCS	Direzione Generale per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo (Italian Development Cooperation Department)
DND	Department of National Defense (Canada)
DOD	Department of Defense
DOJ	Department of Justice
DOS	Department of State
ePRT	Embedded Provincial Reconstruction Teams
ESC	Executive Steering Committee (Kabul)
ESF	Economic Support Funds
EU	European Union
EUPOL	European Union Police Mission
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office (United Kingdom)
FOB	Forward Operating Base
FPO	Field Program Officer (USAID)
FSO	Foreign Service Officer (Department of State)
FY	Fiscal Year
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPSF	Global Peace and Security Fund
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HQ	Headquarters
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IMS	Interagency Management System
IPS	International Policy Statement

Glossary of Acronyms

IRMO	Iraq Reconstruction Management Office
IRRF	Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ITAO	Iraq Transition Assistance Office
JESC	Joint Executive Steering Committee (Baghdad)
KPRT	Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team
LGCD	Local Governance and Community Development (Afghanistan)
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MAE	Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
MNF-I	Multi-National Force - Iraq
MoD	Ministry of Defense
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCT	National Coordination Team (Baghdad)
NET	National Embassy Team (Baghdad)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSP	National Solidarity Program
NSPD	National Security Presidential Directive
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)
OH-DACA	Department of Defense Overseas Humanitarian Disaster and Civic Aid
OPA	Office of Provincial Affairs (Baghdad)
PCRU	Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit (United Kingdom)
PDF	Provincial Development Fund
PDP	Provincial Development Plan
PIC	Provincial Iraqi Control
POLAD	Political Advisor
PRDC	Provincial Reconstruction and Development Committee
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
PSYOPS	Psychological Operations
QIP	Quick Impact Project
QRF	Quick Reaction Funds
RC-S	Regional Command South
RC-W	Regional Command-West
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RSU	Reconstruction Support Unit (Italian)
RTI	Research Triangle International
S/CRS	US State Department Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization
SIGIR	Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction
START	Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force
SITREP	Situation Reports

Glossary of Acronyms

TFI	Task Force Iraq
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USG	United States Government
WFP	World Food Program

ANNEX A

Canada's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

Meghan Nutting

Executive Summary:

- Canada's PRT in Afghanistan is located in Kandahar Province, one of the most volatile regions of the country. The dangerous security situation in this area makes reconstruction and stabilization difficult.
- Canada has adopted a 'whole of government approach' to better coordinate the disparate agencies responsible for various operations in the field.
- There is a new, multi-agency Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START), and a high-level civilian coordinates all of Canada's operations in Afghanistan.

I. Introduction: PRTs and Canada's National Interest

Canada's re-involvement in conflict and nation-building abroad in front line countries such as Afghanistan is relatively recent. However, Canada has embraced the opportunity to continue its leadership in international peace and stability operations. The country has taken on one of the most challenging areas in Afghanistan and is working to make its Provincial Reconstruction Team in Kandahar as successful as possible given the security situation. The Government of Canada sees its participation in rebuilding Afghanistan as an opportunity to try out its new 'whole of government' methodology; this approach is being used as a mechanism to knit together the work done under the auspices of peacekeeping, development and security.

The Conservatives in the Canadian government were initially critical of Canadian involvement in Afghanistan. However, now that they are in power, they have made it one of the country's leading priorities. The public perception of Canada's role in Afghanistan has not been unequivocally supportive. Originally, when Canada operated in safe areas there was little public dissention. Now that Canada is involved in combat operations in Kandahar, public discourse is more divisive. Not since the Korean War has Canada been directly involved in combat so the public had been accustomed to seeing Canadian forces as peacekeepers rather than combat forces. They were unprepared for Canadian casualties.

Canada's involvement in Afghanistan is a result of various factors, including as an alternative to involvement in Iraq. The government sees its role in Afghanistan as "essential to ensuring a place of leadership for Canada in the world"⁸ and as a commitment to improving the lives of Afghans.

II. Strategic Planning and Institutional Coordination

Canada's PRT receives funding and support from all three of the main agencies involved: the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), the Department of National Defense (DND), and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Institutional coordination among these agencies is getting progressively better as Canada works to implement its 'whole of government' approach.

Resources:

Funding for much of Canada's work in Afghanistan falls under the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force's (START) Peacekeeping and Peace Operations team located at DFAIT. Money comes from the Global Peace and Security Fund (GPSF) which is focused on security and justice sector reform, governance and technical assistance.⁹ This gives DFAIT a funding stream and ensures that it doesn't have to ask DND or CIDA for aid to accomplish its mission.¹⁰ DFAIT has received \$30 million for Afghanistan for each of the next three years, a fact that underscores Canada's commitment to operations in Afghanistan.

8 Peace Operations Monitor: Afghanistan, 2007. Canada's Contributions to Peace Operations in Afghanistan. www.peacebuild.ca/powg/POM/afghanistan/AfghanistanCanContrib.htm Last accessed November 4, 2007.

9 Government of Canada, 2007. START: Mobilizing Canada's Capacity for International Crisis Response. Fact Sheet.

10 Patrick, Stewart and Brown, Kaysie, 2007. "Greater than the Sum of its Parts? Assessing 'Whole of Government' Approaches to Fragile States." International Peace Academy.

Due to START, there has been some institutional overlap of work and funding disbursement in Afghanistan. This has been demoralizing for CIDA in particular since there seems to be no logical divide over what types of projects each department is supposed to fund and CIDA has traditionally held most of the funding purse strings. At the same time, there is only so much absorptive capacity in Afghanistan and Kandahar for international aid but the pressure put on departments to spend is significant.

Mandates:

The PRT in Kandahar has evolved greatly since the Canadians took it over in 2005. DND was the first on the ground and was given high-level direction but very little specifics on how to accomplish their goals. Things were not only complicated by the fact that the job of those in the PRT was unclear, but also by the fact that people had to learn to work with representatives of other departments. Currently, the objectives of the PRT are still very broad and there are inadequate metrics for measuring their achievement.

Various Canadian agencies are using the PRT as a case study for how to operate better in the future. Both DFAIT and DND are in the process of reviewing the PRT and are hoping to publish reports in early 2008. Government officials have made it clear that the PRT in Kandahar could look dramatically different in the next few months.

Training and deployments:

Canada attempts to integrate the training of those going to Afghanistan to serve in the Kandahar PRT. The integrated training is likely effective as most people in the field report that coordination among those working in the PRT is very good. At the same time, each group also receives training specific to the tasks and functions they will be carrying out while in-country. Most civilians undergo a seven or ten day training period at the Peace Support Training Center in Kingston, Ontario. Training continues once participants are deployed abroad. Military training for Afghanistan can last up to eight months and is conducted on one of the Canadian Forces military bases. Civilians and military commanders are deployed for a period of 12 months while military forces are deployed for six months.¹¹

Coordination:

In the past, Canada's governmental agencies have not often been called upon to work together. Afghanistan has brought interagency coordination to the forefront. To improve coordination, Canada drafted an International Policy Statement in 2005 in which it called for greater interdepartmental coordination. According to Patrick and Brown, "the IPS is an ambitious attempt to establish the priorities and parameters of Canada's global engagement in the twenty-first century, with an eye toward harmonizing the roles of DFAIT, DND and CIDA in the achievement of Canada's national objectives."¹²

Central to the IPS is a "whole of government" mandate. This is an integrated approach that Canada is now trying to employ in its overseas activities. As part of this, David Mulroney, a high-level civilian coordinator was put at the head of all Canada's operations in Afghanistan. Sworn in February of 2007 and named Associate Deputy Minister in DFAIT, he is now responsible for coordinating Canada's engagement in Afghanistan.

In order to facilitate more effective international involvement, Canada's International Policy Statement mandated the creation of the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) within DFAIT. START is "intended to provide a platform for prompt, government-wide response to the challenges of preventing and responding to crises, including coordination of military and civilian activities in post-conflict operation."¹³ It was established in September 2005 and has had quite a few successes since its creation. To create START, the Government of Canada built on existing capacity by consolidating departments to avoid duplication and ensure coordination. Theoretically, all departments within the government have a representative on the team. In reality, however, the program seems to be solely under the purview of DFAIT.

11 Briefing, "How Canada Prepares its Civilians and Soldiers for the Peace-Building Missions of the 21st Century." People Building Peace. www.canadanet.or.jp/ambassador/060828peace_e.pdf Last accessed December 1, 2007.

12 Patrick, Stewart and Brown, Kaysie, 2007. "Greater than the Sum of its Parts? Assessing 'Whole of Government' Approaches to Fragile States." International Peace Academy.

13 Ibid.

Canada's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

III. Field Operations and Performance

Canada has been involved in recent operations in Afghanistan since the initial U.S.-led coalition ousted the Taliban regime. Canadian forces deployed to Kandahar under Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in February 2002 where they supported U.S. troops with nearly 3,000 of their personnel. They then deployed to NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Kabul in August 2003.¹⁴ Between October 2001 and May 2006, Canada spent approximately \$4.146 billion supporting the NATO-led ISAF and the U.S.-led OEF.¹⁵ The country has also deployed 20 warships and over 18,000 soldiers, sailors, and air force personnel in support of OEF and ISAF.¹⁶

In August 2005, Canada assumed command of the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) from U.S. forces. Approximately 250 Canadians, mainly military, were sent to work in the PRT.¹⁷ In January 2006, Glyn Berry, a Canadian diplomat, was killed in a random car bomb attack; he was the first Canadian diplomat killed in Afghanistan. Three Canadian soldiers were also wounded in the attack. This event caused Canada to re-assess its role in Afghanistan as well as the overall security situation. The PRT's numbers were drawn down to 120 people and all civilian members were withdrawn from the country.¹⁸

By April 2006, Canada had decided to re-establish its team in Kandahar and in May, civilians were re-deployed. Since then, the PRT has undergone capability enhancements and is now made up of approximately 380 people. This includes six officers from the Canada International Development Agency (CIDA), two officers from Correctional Services Canada (CSC), five officers from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), ten officers from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), one person for the U.S. Department of State, and one person from USAID.¹⁹ Also, approximately 2,500 Canadian troops have been deployed to Kandahar Province under OEF (in February 2006) and then under ISAF (in July 2006) when it assumed control of Regional Command South (RC-South). Since Canada started participating in operations in Afghanistan, 44 Canadian troops and one diplomat have been killed and about 200 soldiers have been wounded.²⁰

Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest province, is located in the south-eastern part of the country along the Pakistani border. It is close to Iran and so there is also heavy Iranian influence in the region. The province is predominately desert in the south and mountainous in the north. As a result, the south is almost entirely uninhabited. Kandahar city, the second largest city in Afghanistan, is the capital of the province. The city has a long history as a trading center since it is located at the junction of the Ring Road, Afghanistan's main highway, and Highway 4, the major southern road into Pakistan.²¹

Due to an active insurgency in Kandahar Province, reconstruction has proven difficult. Canadian troops have shifted from their traditional peacekeeping role to a more militaristic role in an attempt to counter the insurgency. After years of engagement in the province, OEF and now ISAF have been unable to stabilize the region and remove or even appreciably minimize the threat from insurgents. As a result, very little development has taken place in Kandahar since 2001.²²

The Kandahar PRT (KPRT) is headed by a board of directors that meets once a week to make decisions relevant to its

14 DFAIT Briefing, October 30, 2007. DFAIT Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada. Provincial Reconstruction Team Kandahar.

15 Peace Operations Monitor: Afghanistan, 2007. Canada's Contributions to Peace Operations in Afghanistan. www.peacebuild.ca/powg/POM/afghanistan/AfghanistanCanContrib.htm#noteone Last accessed November 4, 2007.

16 Government of Canada, 2007. Canada's Approach: Security. www.canada-afghanistan.gc.ca/cip-pic/afghanistan/library/afgh_security-en.asp Last accessed November 4, 2007.

17 DFAIT Briefing, October 30, 2007. DFAIT Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada. Provincial Reconstruction Team Kandahar.

18 Peace Operations Monitor: Afghanistan, 2007. Canada's Contributions to Peace Operations in Afghanistan. www.peacebuild.ca/powg/POM/afghanistan/AfghanistanCanContrib.htm#noteone Last accessed November 4, 2007.

19 DFAIT Briefing, October 30, 2007. DFAIT Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada. Provincial Reconstruction Team Kandahar.

20 Interim Report of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence, February 2007. Canadian Troops in Afghanistan: Taking a Hard Look at a Hard Mission. www.parl.gc.ca/39/1/parlbus/commbus/senate/com-e/defe-e/rep-e/repfeb07-e.pdf Last accessed November 4, 2007.

21 The Senlis Council, June 28th, 2006. Canada in Kandahar: No Peace to Keep - A Case Study of the Military Coalitions in Southern Afghanistan. www.senlis-council.net/modules/publications/013_publication/chapter_01 Last accessed November 4, 2007.

22 Hayes, Laura and Brunner, Borgna, 2007. Who are the Taliban? Their History and their resurgence. www.infoplease.com/spot/taliban.html Last accessed November 4, 2007.

functioning. The board is made up of a representative from each of the departments involved in the PRT. A military officer is in charge of the overall team due to the security situation. With the increase in numbers and the adoption of a board of directors coordination has improved in recent months.²³

Canadian Forces (CF) provide security for the PRT. CF support all civilian movements outside of the base and transport civilians in CF vehicles. The CF enables the operations of other government departments, supports NATO operations, and engages with local actors.²⁴ The PRT is located away from the kinetic military operations in Kandahar. The KPRT is housed at Camp Nathan Smith within Kandahar city and does not operate from Kandahar air field where the rest of Canada's Task Force is located.²⁵

The KPRT mission statement is to “conduct coordinated inter-departmental operations to promote good governance and assist the government of Afghanistan in extending its authority in order to facilitate the development of a stable, secure and self-sustaining environment in the province of Kandahar.”²⁶ The key tasks of the KPRT include: coordination internally, locally, militarily, and nationally; relationship building with local and provincial leaders, local international actors and between Afghans and their government; capacity building of the Government of Afghanistan and in key sectors; and immediate needs such as both short and long term development.²⁷ In essence, capacity building is the KPRT's main priority along with security, governance and development.

IV. Conclusions

Canada faces many challenges in Afghanistan. First, the Canadian government must continue to cultivate public support for its operations (especially military) in a volatile part of Afghanistan. Second, the security situation in Kandahar is likely to remain challenging for some time to come. Canadians must strive to find a way to improve it or work within it, or both as it is currently the greatest obstacle to reconstruction and development. Third, Canadians still face the challenge of finding local partners and NGOs, so local implementation capacity is still greatly lacking.

The PRT in Kandahar faces many challenges as well. There is a lack of coherent vision about what the PRT was meant to accomplish. The PRT must also strive to find a better balance between human intelligence, security and development. Other challenges include: the lack of NGO support, relationships with local actors, a lack of training for the mission, a lack of availability of governmental personnel at CIDA and DFAIT, a lack of metrics to measure success and the overwhelming importance of individual personalities.²⁸

Finally, the Government of Canada is having growing pains as it attempts to bring all of its departments together under a common umbrella of reconstruction and development. More work will have to be done to facilitate interagency coordination at all levels and various departments will need clear objectives so they do not infringe upon the work of other departments. At the same time there will have to be cooperation and information sharing among the departments from the bottom to the top of government.

In May 2006, Parliament approved the extension of Canada's military mission in Afghanistan until 2009. Canada has also signed onto the Afghanistan Compact and thereby agreed to support development in Canada until 2011. Whether it will stay until then is not clear. Canada has outlined an exit strategy for leaving Afghanistan although no specific date has been set.²⁹ Afghanistan is one of Canada's highest priorities and the country sees itself engaged there for the foreseeable future.

²³ DND Briefing, October 31, 2007. DND Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Peace Operations Monitor: Afghanistan, 2007. Canada's Contributions to Peace Operations in Afghanistan. www.peacebuild.ca/powg/POM/afghanistan/AfghanistanCanContrib.htm#Anchor-36621 Last accessed November 4, 2007.

²⁶ DFAIT Briefing, October 30, 2007. DFAIT Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada. Provincial Reconstruction Team Kandahar.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ DND Briefing, October 31, 2007. DND Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada.

²⁹ CBC News, January 29, 2007. “Document outlines Canada's military plans in Afghanistan.” www.cbc.ca/world/story/2007/01/28/military-objectives.html?pref=rss Last accessed November 5, 2007.

ANNEX B

Germany's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

Nima Abbaszadeh

Executive Summary:

- Germany's two PRTs in northern Afghanistan are the largest in the country. The German military's cautious approach is balanced by a robust and well-resourced civilian presence.
- German PRTs are distinguished by their "double-headed" structure of dual civilian and military leadership, with clear distinction between the tasks of the two components.
- PRTs have served as a catalyst for inter-ministerial cooperation back in Germany, where ministries have historically operated with significant independence.

I. Introduction: PRTs and Germany's National Interest

Germany's military involvement in Afghanistan began with the Parliament's approval of the Bundeswehr's participation in ISAF in December 2001. Germany is currently the third-largest troop contributor in Afghanistan and has been the lead nation responsible for Regional Command (RC) North, based in Mazar-e-Sharif, since June 2006. Until the recent establishment of the EU police mission (EUPOL), it was also the lead nation for police development. German-led PRTs were established in Kunduz in November 2003 and in Badakhshan's provincial capital of Feyzabad in September 2004. Because Kunduz is more populous, more strategic, and less isolated than Feyzabad, its PRT is larger and attracts the majority of attention.

Post-war German attitudes towards the military and use of force cannot be underestimated when examining the German approach to post-conflict stabilization. Pacifism is a deeply ingrained feature of the modern German psyche, and most German voters and politicians are extremely uncomfortable with the idea of German military forces undertaking offensive operations or sustaining significant casualties. As such, German participation in Afghanistan since 2001 has largely been framed in terms of delivering development and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people. German military forces in ISAF have been confined to the more secure northern portions of the country and are prohibited from engaging in offensive operations in the south. Their military involvement in Afghanistan is nonetheless unpopular with the German public: although the ISAF mandate was recently renewed for another year in Parliament by a convincing margin, polls indicate that less than one-third of the German electorate supported the decision.³⁰

Development, however, was not Germany's primary motivation for sending troops to Afghanistan in 2001 and increasing its presence after 2003. According to one senior policy official, even counterterrorism was viewed as a priority only in very general terms. Although Germans recognize the danger of terrorism, the absence of a direct attack by Islamic extremists in Germany understandably results in a threat perception that differs from that held in the United States. Lacking a true national interest in the Hindu Kush, Germany's involvement in Afghanistan is attributed more to its commitment to the Atlantic Alliance. While this may have offered sufficient rationale for the government to send its military forces to Afghanistan as part of the NATO mission, neither this nor development assistance to the war-weary Afghan people is sufficient for the German public to countenance significant sacrifice of life and limb.

II. Strategic Planning And Institutional Coordination

The four federal ministries engaged in Germany's PRTs in Afghanistan are the Ministry of Defense (MoD), which is concerned with security matters; the Foreign Office (AA), which has the lead on political issues; the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), which provides development expertise; and the Ministry of Interior (BMI), which is in charge of police training efforts. The constitutionally-enshrined principle of *Ressortprinzip* ("department principle") grants federal ministries a high degree of autonomy in formulating and implementing policy.³¹ As such, any PRT model involving multiple ministries and requiring close inter-ministerial cooperation is bound to face significant

30 Nicholas Kulish, "Germany to Keep Troops in Afghanistan," *New York Times*, October 13, 2007. Available at www.nytimes.com/2007/10/13/world/europe/13germany.html?hp.

31 Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, *Greater than the Sum of its Parts?: Addressing "Whole of Government" Approaches to Fragile States*, (New York: International Peace Academy 2004), p. 110.

institutional challenges. BMZ in particular has been reluctant to allow any military involvement in its development activities.

Resources:

MoD possesses more extensive resources than the other three ministries; but compared to other European defense establishments, it lags behind. At less than 2 percent of GDP, proportionate military spending in Germany is far below that of comparably-sized NATO allies, and less than that of several smaller European countries as well.³² Moreover, the military has very little of its own dedicated funding for reconstruction efforts. Of the €100 million that Germany has dedicated to reconstruction and development in Afghanistan in 2007, 70 percent is apportioned to BMZ, while the remainder is allotted to AA (which in turn provides €12 million to BMI for police training).

Mandates:

The power balance between “civilian” ministries in charge of Germany’s foreign and development policy and the Defense Ministry is less tipped in favor of the latter than is the case in other countries, including the United States. BMZ is an independent cabinet-level ministry with its own autonomy and budget focused on long-term development. As for the Foreign Office, some observers opine that it exerts even greater influence in German government decision-making than MoD. Already left wanting for resources, the military’s approach is very cautious in Afghanistan and more broadly. It does not regard itself to be engaged in counterinsurgency in Afghanistan; German officials remain unconvinced that the upsurge in regional violence is attributable to the Taliban and its sympathizers, rather than to local warlords and criminal elements.

Training and Deployments:

Extensive training programs have been developed for all PRT personnel. However, preparations are not integrated across military and civilian components: each ministry has a separate training program for its representatives. Particularly well-institutionalized is the four-week training program developed by Capacity Building International (InWent), in which development personnel from BMZ and the various implementing agencies focus on topics such as ethnology, language, tribal relations, and security. All civilian PRT deployments are for a minimum of one year; foreign deployments in the German military typically last 4-6 months, with some overlap between incoming and outgoing forces.

Coordination:

In general, Germany has lagged behind other donors in developing policies for a government-wide approach to working in challenging environments.³³ Although an action plan on “Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution, and Post-conflict Peacebuilding” was adopted in 2004, the inter-ministerial steering group charged with its implementation is regarded as weak and poorly resourced, and plays no significant role in Germany’s PRT efforts. Nonetheless, where Germany is heavily involved, ministry priorities are fairly well-aligned. AA has the lead in developing Germany’s Afghanistan policy, designing the PRTs, and coordinating inter-ministerial collaboration. At the ministerial level, this coordination occurs via an inter-ministerial steering group which meets on a weekly basis via videoconference. Inter-ministerial meetings also take place every 3-4 weeks at the level of state secretaries (akin to deputy ministers).

III. Field Operations And Performance

Organizational Design:

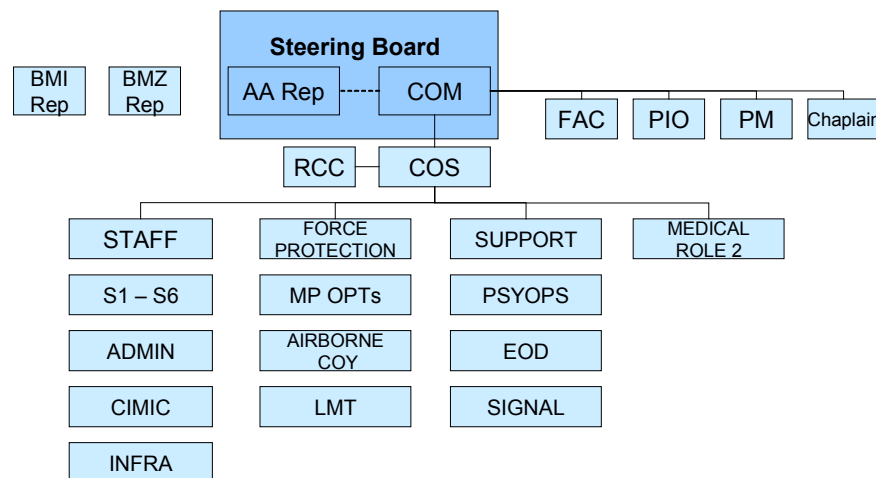
Germany’s PRTs are distinguished by their “double-headed” structure with a high degree of separation between military and civilian elements. The military component of the PRT is led by a Bundeswehr colonel, who is in charge of security and military operations. The civilian head, a representative from the Foreign Office, is the official “face” of the PRT and is nominally responsible for coordination of its activities. This was initially a major point of contention, particularly for BMZ, which has historically resisted what it regards as attempts to subordinate its development agenda to the political priorities of the AA. In practice, the civilian head of the PRT has little control over the activities of BMZ, which has autonomy over its budgetary allocations.

³² DW-World.de, “Chancellor Unleashes New Defense Spending Debate”, September 7, 2006. Available at www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2166295,00.html.

³³ Patrick and Brown, p. 106.

Germany's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

The Kunduz PRT Structure



Source: Peter Viggo Jakobsen, *PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient*

Staffing:

The German PRT in Kunduz is the largest PRT operating in Afghanistan. It has 410 personnel, of which 330 are German military and 70 are from other ISAF contributors. The Feyzabad PRT has 100 fewer soldiers. The military component is organized as a headquarters with an HQ support company, a protection company, and a medical company, as well as PSYOPS, CIMIC, intelligence, military police, explosive ordinance disposal, infrastructure and planning, country information, and press and information capabilities.³⁴ The civilian side of the German PRT is also more robust than that found in many PRT models. The Kunduz PRT includes four personnel from AA, one from BMZ, eight experts from German Technical Cooperation (GTZ, the implementing agency for development projects), six development workers from the German Development Service (DED, comparable to the U.S. Peace Corps), and two consultants from KfW (Germany's state development bank). Two German police officers engaged in police training efforts in Kunduz will be replaced by trainers from the EUPOL Mission.

PRT Coordination:

Strict separation of tasks is maintained between the different PRT elements. Development personnel are particularly adamant about establishing a distinction between civilian and military work, and do not live or work at the bases outside of Kunduz and Feyzabad from which the German military operates. It has been BMZ's position from the outset that development work could not be properly conducted in the midst of the military; thus the military component neither provides security for the development offices and housing nor accompanies development personnel to project sites around the province. This strict separation has recently softened, as the Kunduz civilian and military heads both now have offices in the city co-located with the development team. This new arrangement – which has introduced military personnel into a location previously visited regularly by NGOs – has renewed tensions with the NGO community.³⁵

Representatives from the participating ministries meet a few times per week to coordinate and discuss security, intelligence, planning, projects, and other topics. Although other PRT members have no formal decision-making authority over how BMZ will spend its funds, they offer their opinions based on observations gained during patrols or meetings with local and provincial leaders. Programming decisions are then often made by consensus. Roles and lines of authority within the German PRT have never been formalized; consequently, coordination and cooperation between ministry representatives is heavily reliant on personalities that accept a whole of government approach.³⁶

³⁴ Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient," *Danish Institute for International Studies* 2005:6, p. 25.

³⁵ Interview with Heiko Faehnel, former BMZ representative in Kunduz, October 29, 2007.

³⁶ Foreign Office briefing, October 31, 2007.

Priorities:

BMZ's focus in Afghanistan, including in the PRTs, is very much centered on long-term development, to the occasional frustration of AA and MoD; nonetheless, there is strong recognition of the symbiotic relationship between development and security across all ministries. Germany's €70 million of development assistance in 2007 is concentrated in the northern provinces where its military forces and PRTs are located. Although the distribution of this assistance is decided at the national level and not by the PRT, the BMZ representatives in Kunduz and Feyzabad oversee the implementation of this assistance within their geographic jurisdiction. Focal areas of BMZ assistance are sustainable economic development, infrastructure (including water and sanitation and renewable energy), and basic education. Cross-cutting aspects such as gender, rule of law, and governance are also prioritized.

The military component of the PRT regards its priorities as contributing to local security, force protection, and engaging in CIMIC activities. The primary role of CIMIC teams, which have very few resources with which to conduct quick impact projects, is to liaise with local populations. AA's objectives are more political in nature. The civilian head seeks to bolster the authority of the central government by working closely with the provincial governor and other provincial officials to improve governance and enable reconstruction activities. He also works to strengthen the link between the provincial and national level.

Project Implementation:

Though its large bilateral assistance program, BMZ has restored drinking water to over 850,000 people, including thousands in Kunduz; repaired and re-asphalted streets; constructed health centers; constructed and equipped hundreds of primary schools; conducted teacher training in northern Afghanistan; and trained police officers and judges. It is important to emphasize that while these projects were implemented in the areas where German PRTs are active, they are not projects of the PRT itself.

Small quick impact projects (QIPs) are pursued in a variety of fashions. Since the military's resources for such activities are limited, they are forced to rely on AA for funding; BMZ does not fund Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) projects. A more flexible tool for PRT development representatives is a separate pot of funds known as development-oriented emergency aid, for which €10 million was dedicated in 2007. The planning and approval process for dispensing these funds is designed to proceed quickly. BMZ officials in Kunduz and Feyzabad have discretion to decide how these funds will be spent in their area, and make decisions locally in cooperation with provincial representatives of central government ministries. Emergency aid has been used to demonstrate visible and rapid progress around German PRTs by building schools, bridges, roads, and water supply and irrigation facilities, while ensuring that these projects are aligned with longer-term development goals.³⁷

A particularly innovative mechanism for project implementation is the Provincial Development Fund (PDF), which has provided over €3 million in project financing since its inception last year.³⁸ The PDF seeks to integrate Afghans into the entire process of project identification, development, and implementation. PRT personnel on patrols encourage communities to apply for PDF resources, often through the Community Development Councils established under the auspices of the government's National Solidarity Program (NSP). Communities submit a simple request for assistance that details the proposed purpose of the funding and their potential contribution to the project. The proposals are then evaluated by an eight-member committee comprised of one official each from the Office of the Governor, the Provincial Council, the Department of Women's Affairs, the Department of Rural Development, and representatives from BMZ, AA, BMI, and MoD. The Afghan members of the committee are responsible for prioritizing the project list, with PRT oversight to ensure that funds are appropriately distributed on the basis of objective development criteria and not tribal or regional biases. Funding awards are generally small-scale, in the range of €8-10,000.³⁹

³⁷ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, *BMZ Strategies No. 138: Development-oriented Emergency and Transitional Aid*, January 2006.

³⁸ BMZ briefing.

³⁹ Interview with Dr. Christoph Zuricher, Free University of Berlin, November 2, 2007. Contributions to the PDF have at various times been provided by AA, BMZ, and MoD.

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Relationships with Local Actors:

The PDF is but one mechanism through which the PRT interacts with Afghan institutions and communities. The entire PRT leadership meets weekly with the Governor and police to discuss the regional security situation. Representatives from BMI are engaged in training local police forces, and the German military operates patrols in tandem with the ANA contingent based in Kunduz, with the Afghans at the front of joint operations to the extent possible. The primary role of CIMIC teams, which have very few resources with which to conduct QIPs, is to liaise with local populations. The PRT also will often serve as an escort for the Governor on visits to outlying areas in the province. Assistance from the PRT is crucial, as according to AA officials, the Governor receives scant support from Kabul.

BMZ representatives also emphasize close contact with UNAMA representatives on the ground, and meet as frequently as every week to discuss local developments and projects. Sectoral meetings and meetings with all development actors active in the area (including NGOs and other donors) are also organized by UNAMA. These monthly gatherings typically consist of planning, coordination, information exchange, and lessons learned. Relations between the German NGO community and German PRT officials from BMZ, GTZ, and DED are warm, and meetings take place on a monthly basis; NGOs regard the military component of the PRT with skepticism, and predominantly limit their contacts to discussion of security issues.

IV. Conclusion

German officials generally express satisfaction with their PRT approach, not only because of extensive livelihood improvements and reconstruction in their area of operations, but also because it has served as a catalyst for inter-ministerial cooperation back in Berlin. A recent outside impact assessment of development assistance* in Kunduz commissioned by BMZ confirmed that the international presence – including the German PRT – enjoys high levels of confidence and legitimacy. Large percentages of surveyed households cited progress in water, sanitation, education, and roads. Discouragingly, however, these successes are almost entirely attributed to international assistance and not to the Afghan state. Kabul's authority continues to be regarded as more or less nonexistent in the provinces, and citizens in Kunduz and Badakhshan are generally disappointed in the performance of government institutions. Improving the capacity of provincial-level officials amidst rising violence and public disillusionment is among the most serious challenges facing German PRTs as they approach their fifth year in Afghanistan.

* The study assesses the impact of overall development assistance in Kunduz, not just that provided by Germany.

ANNEX C

Italy's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

Mark Crow and Marianne El-Khoury

Executive Summary:

- The Italian Government operates two Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT) in the relatively secure areas of Dhi Qar, Iraq and Herat, Afghanistan.
- The Italian PRT in Iraq has experienced considerable success in Dhi Qar due to the personality of its leader coupled with a permissive security environment.
- The Italian PRT in Afghanistan initially experienced significant civil-military coordination issues due to a lack of civilian planning, multiple lines of authority back to Rome and Kabul, and divergent operational priorities.
- The Italian Government is making small and incremental efforts towards improving civil-military integration and coordination at the ministerial level but does not intend to institutionalize the current PRT model for future operations.

Introduction: PRTs and Their Role in Italy's National Interest

The Italian Government operates two Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT). One is located in Herat, Afghanistan and the other is in Dhi Qar, Iraq.

In Afghanistan, Italy is one of the 38 contributing nations to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) with 2,395 troops deployed as of October 2007 and is also the lead country for Afghanistan Judicial Reform. Italy assumed command of the Herat PRT from the United States on April 1, 2005, and currently commands the Regional Command-West (RC-W) Headquarters, which oversee three other provinces in the west of Afghanistan.

In Iraq, Dhi Qar contains one of three coalition-led PRTs and was the second province to transition to Provincial Iraqi Control (PIC) on September 21, 2006. Following the Italian military's departure from Dhi Qar, the Italian Government initiated the PRT and staffed it with civilian personnel only. To further emphasize the non-military nature of Italy's mission in Iraq to the Italian public and liberal politicians, the Italian Government has chosen to describe its effort in Dhi Qar as a *Unità di Sostegno alla Ricostruzione* or Reconstruction Support Unit (RSU).

The Italian Government manages and operates its PRTs through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri - MAE*), the Ministry of Defense (*Ministero della Difesa - MoD*) and the Italian Development Cooperation Department (*Direzione Generale per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo - DGCS*), a subordinate directorate in MAE that is responsible for traditional development work. The Italian Government does not view PRTs as a tool with which to conduct counterinsurgency operations, nor do they prefer to focus on reconstruction. Instead, the Italian Government primarily views PRTs as a development tool that promotes stability and builds institutional capacity. In fact, PRTs are viewed as a temporary substitute for work traditionally done by DGCS. This arrangement is necessary because DGCS personnel do not have the necessary security expertise or resources to operate in non-permissive environments such as Afghanistan or Iraq. Given that DGCS does not participate in the Dhi Qar PRT, is only partially involved in the Herat PRT, and does not play a leading role in any of the operations in Rome, it remains difficult to understand how the Italians plan to transition their PRT to this organization as it is only partially invested in the current process.

Importantly, the Italian Government does not plan to institutionalize their PRT in the future. The Italians are very cautious about the ability to abstract their specific PRT experiences to a general model for future interventions. They feel that the uniqueness of each situation precludes the attempt to create a standing model or organization for this type of work. Second, Italy views these types of operations through multiple policy lenses (US, NATO, EU, UN), which, in their view, makes an effort to create an institution similar to the US State Department Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization or the United Kingdom's Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit very difficult for them. However, Italy does view the "concept" of PRTs as something that will be useful in future post-conflict development and stability scenarios. Unfortunately, it is unclear how the Italians plan to capture the necessary lessons learned and doctrinal framework that would be required to ensure some form of institutional memory survives for future use⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ A current draft law in Parliament (Italian Participation in Support of International Missions) aims to strengthen the civilian agencies' ability to provide support to future operations. While it falls short of institutionalizing PRTs, it does call for increased joint civilian planning with the military, development of training curricula for PRT personnel, and streamlined procedures for civilian administration and funding of future operations.

Italy's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

II. Strategic Planning and Institutional Coordination

Herat PRT

Management:

The Italian Government manages the Herat PRT with personnel located in the MAE and the MoD in Rome and does not have a single integrated command structure. There is one *international* chain of command (ISAF) for the Italian military and three other separate *national* chains of command (MAE, MoD, and DGCS) back to Rome. The Ministry of Defense controls the military portion of the Herat PRT using the military's Joint Operations Headquarters located in Rome. This headquarters is Italy's only joint military command and is similar in scope to a U.S. regional combatant command, containing Carabinieri, Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel. The civilian portions of the Herat PRT are managed by their respective civilian agencies, the MAE and the DGCS in Rome. There is no formal interagency (MoD-MAE) or intra-agency (MAE - DGCS) organization or working group dedicated to managing the Herat PRT in Rome.

Historically, interagency (MoD and MAE) relations have negatively impacted the progress of the Herat PRT. From the beginning, the MAE misunderstood the purpose and focus of the Herat PRT to be primarily military in nature and their role as one of political advisor (POLAD). This misunderstanding resulted in early de-facto subordination of the civilian personnel (MAE and DGCS) to the military as the MAE abdicated any initial planning responsibilities to the military. This abdication then caused a delay in civilian participation in PRT operations, which resulted in the military executing reconstruction and stability projects more ideally suited to their civilian counterparts. Unfortunately, this civilian subordination to the military is being remedied after over 30 months of Italian PRT operations in Herat.

Funding:

Italian Funding for the Herat PRT includes money allocated by MoD and MAE. MoD spent over €5.3 million for 2006 on primarily Quick Impact Projects (QIP). This money is used by the Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) Team on the PRT from NATO CIMIC Group-South, headquartered in Motta Di Livenza, Italy. The MAE, primarily through the DGCS, allocated over €15 million for use by the Herat PRT. Of that €15 million, €5 million was disbursed to the World Food Program (WFP) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Another €5 million was earmarked for health, water and education projects with the remaining €5 million to be used by the PRT.

Staffing:

The recruiting and selection of personnel for the Herat PRT is done by each respective agency involved in the PRT. The military personnel are active-duty personnel of the Italian Armed Forces serving 6-month rotations in Herat. This was recently extended from 4 months to provide greater continuity and longevity. The civilian personnel are primarily recruited from MAE and DGCS full-time staff, although contractors with specific expertise (agriculture, water management, etc.) are occasionally recruited. The head of the civilian component serves up to 1 year in Herat while subordinate personnel serve 3-4 month rotations although there is talk of extending their rotations to match those of the military. Military personnel on the Herat PRT receive standard military training prior to deployment; however, there is very little formal pre-deployment or joint training for the MAE and DGCS civilian personnel.

Dhi Qar PRT

Management:

The Italian Government manages the Dhi Qar PRT through a small organization called Task Force Iraq (TFI) within the MAE. TFI consists of one Minister Plenipotentiary and one Secretary Delegate located in the Directorate General for the Countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East. These two individuals, in conjunction with the Italian Head of Mission to Iraq (a MAE diplomat located in Baghdad), provide direction and guidance for the Dhi

Qar PRT. The MoD and DGCS does not provide personnel to the Dhi Qar PRT and there are no MoD or DGCS personnel located in TFI in Rome.

Funding:

Funding for the Dhi Qar PRT includes Economic Support Funds (ESF) and Quick Reaction Funds (QRF), as well as Italian MAE funds. The ESF and QRF funds are managed by the Italians in conjunction with USAID representatives in Baghdad. Appropriated ESF and QRF funds amount to approximately €55 million for 2007. The Italian MAE funds are managed and approved for disbursement in Rome by TFI. This funding is appropriated and approved by Italian legislation in December of the prior fiscal year. Italian Government funding for the Dhi Qar PRT totaled over €13 million in 2007.

Staffing:

The recruiting and selection of personnel for the Dhi Qar PRT is done by TFI, in conjunction with requests and input provided by the PRT Leader. Personnel are hired as contractors by the MAE and deploy to Iraq on 3 month rotations followed by 14 days of rest in Italy. As with the Herat PRT, there is very little formal pre-deployment training for the civilian personnel.

III. Field Operations and Performance

Herat PRT

Field:

The Italian PRT is located in downtown Herat, in Camp Vianini. Herat is considered one of the safest and more developed provinces of Afghanistan. Herat has a history of foreign presence, which according to the Italians allows the PRT staff to easily establish relationships with the local population. Still, illegally armed groups, tribal disputes, opium cultivation, and refugee camps remain important destabilizing factors. Since 2005, the Herat PRT has suffered few hostile attacks, which include Improvised Explosive Device (IED) attacks on PRT convoys (Dec. 2005, August 2006 and February 2007) and a suicide bomb attack against Camp Vianini, which resulted in the death of one Afghan guard.

Structure:

The Herat PRT comprises about 270 military members and less than 10 civilians. An Italian Army Colonel commands the PRT, while a mid career diplomat acting on behalf of the Italian Ambassador in Kabul heads the MAE civilian component of the PRT. In addition, the PRT includes a squad of NATO CIMIC soldiers who are largely Italian Army selected reservists with expertise in architecture and engineering. The CIMIC soldiers provide the only military technical development expertise on the PRT. Within the PRT, the military commander maintains operational coordination with the two representatives from the MAE and the two representatives from the US Department of State and USAID.

Focus and activities:

The Herat PRT operates within the overall framework of the Afghan Development Zone (ADZ) Initiative. The ADZ Initiative, approved by an Afghan Presidential Directive in August 2006, aims to support provincial officials in the extension of their authority by ensuring reconstruction and development reaches the population. The ADZs seek to establish defined areas that are sufficiently safe and secure to allow a focus on reconstruction and development. Within this framework, the military portion of the Herat PRT has developed an Action Plan that includes ensuring force protection and joint activities with the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), developing Quick Impact Projects (QIPs) and coordinating civil and military activities.

QIPs are developed and managed by the CIMIC experts on the PRT. QIPs are usually short-term, rapid decision and implementation, autonomous in their management, and funded by Italy's MoD. At the initial identification

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stage, the PRT gets an official request for a project from provincial authorities, followed by an on-site feasibility study done by the CIMIC group. Next, the CIMIC group identifies the design features of the project, approves it and transfers responsibility to local Afghan contractors for execution. Oversight and follow-up are usually performed by the CIMIC group. About €5.3 million were spent on QIPs in 2006, 80% of which were spent on infrastructure projects. While most of QIPs in 2006 were allocated to the education sector, QIPs in 2007 are primarily focused on water projects.

In parallel to the CIMIC group, DGCS personnel implement projects that are usually longer-term and subject to clearance from Rome. A total of €4.2 million were spent on DGCS projects in 2006, more than half of which involved health projects and close to 25% went to water projects. While it remains unclear how projects are decided and implemented within the DGCS, we can only speculate that DGCS operates according to its standard rules and procedures.

Senior level and technical meetings are held every week in the PRT to coordinate their activities. Historically, meetings have been largely used for the purpose of sharing information, however, recently, MoD and MEA personnel have begun to coordinate on joint planning and implementation. A Master Plan was developed in late 2006 and early 2007 as a formal attempt to clearly delineate military and civilian responsibilities while providing a basic framework for increasing civil-military cooperation. It is unclear if this strategy is actually increasing the effectiveness of the PRT since indications from the field are mixed.

NGOs:

The large international NGO community in Herat province believes PRTs reduce humanitarian space and jeopardize the security of NGO staff on the ground. According to one NGO representative, PRTs create confusion among the local population as to the role of the NGOs and their relationship with the military. The NGO community continues to strongly advocate a clear separation of roles between the military and the civilian actors. Further, NGOs doubt the competence of the military to effectively deliver development and humanitarian aid.

NGOs feel they are less safe with the presence of the military. However, that claim is not universally accepted. In fact, some NGOs and IOs feel that had it not been for the security provided by the PRT and the logistical advantages the PRT provides, they could not have operated in some areas.

Finally, NGOs complain about the lack of project coordination, constant overlap and lack of effective communication. This is true despite repeated attempts by the PRT military commander to reach out to the NGOs in an unsuccessful effort to establish formal lines of communication via regular meetings or working groups.

Dhi Qar PRT

Field:

The Italian PRT is located in Camp Adder on Tallil Air Base, approximately 20 km southwest of the capital city in Dhi Qar. The province is primarily rural and is located in the southeastern part of Iraq. In terms of security, Dhi Qar along with two other neighboring provinces, Maysan and Muthanna, are relatively calm. Sectarian strife is not an issue in this region of Iraq since the vast majority of the population is Shia. However, conflict between political parties, militias and criminal gangs remains a concern in Basrah and threatens to spill over into other provinces. Except for some political party confrontations in May and June of 2007, Dhi Qar has enjoyed peace.

Structure:

Civilian personnel from the MAE in Rome run the Dhi Qar PRT. It includes experts in agriculture, health, infrastructure, economics, language, law and media. Initially, the PRT utilized surrounding coalition maneuver units for convoy and area security, but for the past three months, PRT security has been provided by a contract firm, AEGIS, for all movement around the province.

Focus and activities:

In terms of project management, the Dhi Qar PRT utilizes a more decentralized and direct style of management in comparison to USAID's more centralized and indirect method. The Italians prefer to use the same personnel to handle all aspects of the project from identification and management through execution without resorting to a third contracting party (USAID method). According to the Italians, this approach has been helpful in improving trust and credibility with the provincial government and population.

The Provincial Reconstruction and Development Council (PRDC) is made up of the governor, select provincial politicians and the PRT team leader. This council meets on a weekly basis to coordinate, discuss projects and prioritize development tasks with the PRT. It is an extremely important part of the PRT's success, and according to the Italians, it is an effective model for building the capacity and the legitimacy of the provincial government. It is also worth noting that the current PRT team leader has a significant positive role in the PRDC. She is especially knowledgeable about the culture and the history of the province and she is often uniquely positioned to play the negotiator and moderator's role on the council.

In general, the PRT's approach is based on actively promoting participation and soliciting initiatives or requests. At an initial stage, a proposal is produced after consulting with the provincial government and identifying technical needs. Next, contact is established between the PRT, the Italian embassy in Baghdad and TFI in Rome to gauge interest in the project and seek funding approval *before* the project is discussed at the PRDC. The project proposal then goes to the PRDC whereby final decision is made by consensus. The PRT maintains regular communication with TFI in Rome through weekly Situation Reports (SITREP) on PRT activities.

Since March 2007, the Dhi Qar PRT has primarily focused on *capacity building* initiatives such as training Iraqi doctors, nurses, technicians and health administrators, *governance* initiatives such as assessing and improving provincial financial management and budget execution, *reconstruction and development* such as improving the productivity of Dhi Qar's agriculture community, and *tribal engagement* such as engaging tribal leaders on security issues in certain areas of the province.⁴¹ The PRT has gradually moved from purely "supply" driven projects to "supply and training" projects. In essence, this means the PRT no longer simply builds infrastructure but also focuses on providing the training and personnel necessary to operate it. Furthermore, the PRT has recently set up training facilities inside the province instead of sending Iraqis abroad for training. The shift in methodology is an attempt to exploit economies of scale (easier to train more Iraqis "in country") and to add legitimacy to the provincial government. Unfortunately, a formal system of project follow-up and monitoring appears to be largely absent.

While the degree of engagement and participation by the Iraqis is significant in the initial stages of the project, the PRT has been struggling with transferring responsibility to the Iraqis at the execution and follow-up stages. The oft-cited reasons include a significant lack of capacity and entrepreneurial spirit among the Iraqis.

NGOs:

Due to the dangerous security situation, there are very few international NGOs operating in Iraq. Italian NGOs left Iraq after the kidnapping of two Italian aid workers in September 2004. However, the Dhi Qar PRT works very closely with Iraqi NGOs in areas of economic development and governance. In addition, the PRT has been trying to attract international NGOs for training activities. However, the efforts of the PRT have been frustrated by NGOs' fear to operate in Iraq, even though security in Dhi Qar is far better than that of other locations.

Performance Measurement:

There are no distinct and objective metrics used to assess the performance of the Italian PRTs in Iraq and Afghanistan. While both PRTs maintain some standard information on projects (number, type, expenditures), this input-based information does not provide useful measures of effectiveness of PRTs and their operations.

⁴¹ Source: *Dhi Qar PRT Basic Planning Document*.

ANNEX D

Lithuania's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

Christopher MacPherson

Executive Summary

- The Lithuanian PRT consists approximately of 130 people and is located in Ghowr, a poor and austere central province of Afghanistan.
- Lithuania has led this multinational PRT since 2005, which represents its most significant and largest foreign military and civilian involvement since becoming independent in 1991.
- The Lithuanian PRT has few bureaucratic barriers among agencies due to the small size of the country.

I. Introduction: PRTs and Lithuania's National Interest

In November 2004, NATO asked Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia if they would volunteer forces to lead a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Afghanistan. Lithuania joined NATO in March 2004, but had already been contributing troops to the ISAF force in Afghanistan prior to accession. While Estonia and Latvia quickly declined the opportunity, Lithuania conditionally agree to take the lead on a provincial reconstruction in exchange for monetary, logistical, and security support primarily from the United States. This would become the first serious civil-military operation undertaken by Lithuania, both in a foreign and NATO context.

Lithuania had only a few months to decide whether to embark upon the mission; NATO's original request needed to be answered by early 2005. The Lithuanian government had to accomplish a great deal of work in a very short time. Legal caveats had to be changed, institutional views from the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs needed to be addressed, and political support for the commitment needed to be developed within the Parliament. The Ministry of Defense took the lead, coordinating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was not initially supportive of Lithuania taking on the PRT mission.

NATO had originally proposed two possible locations for the PRT: the province of Badghis, in the central Northwest, or the province of Ghowr, in central Afghanistan, between Herat and Kabul. Lithuania, having very little institutional knowledge of Afghanistan, relied largely on NATO and U.S. information about the provinces. Lithuania initially decided on Badghis province and began planning. However, in early 2005, Spain decided that it would prefer the PRT in Badghis province. According to Lithuanian officials, NATO decided that Spain would take control of the Badghis PRT, and Lithuania would take Ghowr, primarily due to the political legitimacy Spain would bring to the ISAF coalition. While the Lithuanian government was not entirely pleased by the decision, it began planning for a PRT in Ghowr's provincial capital of Chaghcharan.

Lithuania's capability to deploy a foreign force is limited by the country's small size. Roughly 65,000 km² with a population of 3.5 million, Lithuania is about the size of West Virginia and roughly twice the size of Ghowr province in Afghanistan, the Lithuanian PRT's area of responsibility. With a GDP of \$30.2 billion, Lithuania devotes 1.7% of GDP, approximately \$362 million, to its military⁴². While its military is made up of an army, air force, navy, and border guard, the Lithuanian army, totaling approximately one mechanized infantry brigade of roughly 6,000 troops, provides the military personnel deployed to the PRT. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs fields a global diplomatic force of approximately 500. Of these, one diplomat serves as both the head of Lithuania's Special Mission to Afghanistan and the civilian leader of the PRT. An additional diplomat functions as a development and political advisor.

Lithuania's motivation for operating a PRT in Afghanistan arises from a desire to obtain security guarantees from the United States and NATO to counter Russia, a desire to prove itself as a dependable NATO partner, and a belief that it can contribute to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, which it identifies as a former territory also oppressed by the Soviet Union.

⁴² CIA World Factbook 2007.

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Lithuanian PRT policy is based on its experiences of fielding and developing the PRT in Chaghcharan. With its limited diplomatic and military capabilities, coupled with never having fielded a civil-military operation in a foreign country, Lithuania did not have institutional knowledge to leverage during the initial planning for the PRT mission. Policy developed prior to the PRT's deployment in the summer of 2005 focused around creating structures that would allow a civil-military organization to function effectively in a remote environment. Lithuania had only the following broad goals and expectations for its PRT prior to its deployment:

- *The importance of proving Lithuania was a capable member of NATO and showing its support to the United States.* The Defense Minister at the time, Gediminas Kirkilas (currently Prime Minister), stated prior the PRT's deployment that "This will be the most important mission in the history of Lithuania's military forces."⁴³ Lithuanians viewed the operation as the chance to show the progress they have made as a country since declaring their independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. The importance of showing its commitment and support to the United States was extremely important in earning security guarantees from Russia, which Lithuania still regards as a threat.
- *The PRT needed to be multinational.* The Lithuanian PRT includes Ukrainians, Croatians, Georgians, Icelanders, U.S., U.K., and Danish soldiers. This was important for Lithuania to develop relationships with other NATO countries but also to provide the option of transitioning leadership of the PRT to another country in the future.
- *Lithuania wanted to manage expectations of success.* The goal for the first year of the PRT was to get the base up and running. There was no NATO or coalition presence in Ghowr. The airstrip in Chaghcharan was gravel and not properly maintained. Approximately 70 soldiers deployed during the first year, supported by American troops, while the base was developed and an environmental and culture assessment of Ghowr was developed.
- *The PRT and ISAF mission would last four to five years.* Timelines were not important to the Lithuanians early in the mission. With little knowledge about the situation Ghowr, there was no way of assessing what could be accomplished. Parliament initially gave the military a mandate to remain in Afghanistan until 2007. However, Lithuania expects to participate in the ISAF mission until 2010, when the current NATO ISAF mandate expires.

II. Strategic Planning and Institutional Coordination

The Lithuanians decided follow the British model from the NATO PRT handbook, with the operations headed by a military and civilian commander. The PRT is made up of about 130 soldiers, initially complemented by U.S. troops during the first year, and a small civilian component of one or two advisors, a U.S. State Department and USAID representative. The Foreign Minister and Defense Minister issued a joint order before the PRT's initial deployment that the PRT Commander would be in charge of security, and the civilian leader would be of civil projects (reconstruction, development, and good governance).

Resources:

Prior to the PRT, Lithuania had no experience dealing with foreign aid. In fact, up until 2006 Lithuania had been largely receiving aid after achieving its independence from the Soviet Union and joining the European Union. There was no money in the Lithuanian budget for a PRT when they decided to field the team. Much of the money for the first year came from U.S. funds. However, the Lithuanians have found that USAID funding promised in beginning of the PRT has been insufficient, and starting in 2007, they will fund the entire PRT operation on their own. In 2006, the PRT's development projects were funded by 1 million Lithuanian Litas (approximately \$462,000 U.S.). In 2007 the funding will be 4 million Litas (\$1.6 million), and the 2008 funding is expected to double to 8 million Litas. However, Lithuanian officials admit that the current funding is not sufficient for project development, and has made it a policy to generate donor contributions through lobbying efforts in Kabul and in the international community.

⁴³ "Lithuania Poised to Lead NATO Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan." *Agence France-Presse*, June 3, 2005, accessed from www.defensenews.com/story.php?F=892448&C=landwar.

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Mandates:

Because Lithuania has limited diplomatic resources (for instance, its Egyptian Ambassador is the representative for the entire Middle East), there was a decision made to establish a Special Mission to Afghanistan, run by an Ambassador, who would function both in Kabul (Lithuania also had some troops fighting within Operation Enduring Freedom) and in Ghowr as the civilian commander for the Chaghcharan PRT. This would allow a diplomat with the rank of to be the chief Lithuanian representative in Afghanistan. The role of the special mission would be to further the foreign policy of Lithuania in Afghanistan, which focused on the following two goals:⁴⁴

- To create a more secure international environment by assisting the government of Afghanistan to extend its authority, in order to facilitate the development of a stable and secure environment and enable security sector reform and reconstruction efforts.
- To assist the Governor of Ghowr Province in reconstruction and to support the implementation of the rule of law and good governance.

Initially, most of the staffing, both civilian and military, came from the Ministry of Defense. The only Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative would be the head of the special mission. Now that the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has created a development office with a staff of approximately twelve people, there are four diplomats at the MFA in Vilnius focused on Afghanistan, with one or two (usually the Special Mission head and a development advisor) located in Afghanistan. For the Ministry of Defense, the mission was the first time it had deployed civilian personnel with its military forces. Civilian personnel from the MoD comprised the majority of the civilian staffing for the PRT, most as political and development advisors.

Planning and Execution:

The Foreign Affairs Ministry's development office prioritized the following sectors in Ghowr province for assistance:

- Rule of Law institutions;
- Public administration;
- Education, healthcare and social affairs;
- Rural livelihood;
- Water infrastructure,

Project Funding:

Funding for PRT projects comes from a variety of sources. The Lithuanian PRT's development advisor monitors ongoing development and reconstruction projects, and engages with NGOs to develop proposals for funding and to establish permanent NGO offices in Ghowr. Additionally, the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry engages international partners to gain support for proposals. Such discussions have been conducted with the United Arab Emirates, Japan and the European Commission.

Evaluation:

Many PRT projects were only started in the last year, and not enough time has past to assess their success. There is little oversight by the Parliament over the use of development funds, so there is little motivation to ensure development projects are effective. Officials admitted that, "We do not know how to do development." Each project is a learning process.

Pre-deployment training:

The Lithuanians have taken seriously the ability to have a continuous presence in Ghowr with little disruption to deployment rotations. Both the Foreign Ministry officials and the military share the same six month tour. The soldiers and the civilians chosen to go to Afghanistan have constant interaction prior to their deployment, attending lecturers,

⁴⁴ *Brief on the Special Mission of Lithuania in Afghanistan*. Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 29 October 2007.

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country briefs, and updates on ongoing PRT projects. For example, members of the current PRT who are in Vilnius for a vacation will visit the training PRT team to talk about the current environment in Chaghcharan. Multinational partners forming part of the military security team will also come to Vilnius for 2-3 weeks of training at some point during the 6 month training cycle prior to deployment. Both the civilians and military members participate in team-building exercises to ensure everyone knows one another prior to arrival in Afghanistan.

Field Communication:

The head of the Special Mission and the PRT commander both report through their various ministries and these reports are shared at the high levels of government. The PRT has the ability to communicate directly with officials in Vilnius, although the impression is that this does not happen frequently.

Interstate cooperation:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs approaches various countries to discuss possible joint deployments with the Lithuanian PRT. To date, this has included Danes, Icelanders, U.S., British, Georgian, Ukrainian, and Croatian soldiers and civilian advisors.

Institutional Barriers to Success:

As a result of Lithuanian government's small size and limited foreign experience, officials have encountered few bureaucratic barriers in operating the country's first PRT. Recruiting for civilian positions has been done inside and outside of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The current head of the special mission is a former journalist. Personnel in the Defense and Foreign Affairs Ministries know each other and readily share information. The PRT and head of the special mission have considerable autonomy; Vilnius is consulted only on approval of reconstruction and development projects.

III. Field Operations and Performance

Because so little was known about Ghwr Province prior to Lithuania's arrival, very little pre-deployment planning could be done. The Lithuanians decided to spend the first year setting up a functioning base and develop an understanding of the surrounding environment through introducing themselves to the local population, warlords, and provincial officials.

Physical Environment. Ghwr province is one of the poorest and most remote in Afghanistan, with 92% percent of its 635,000 inhabitants living on a rural economy that has been disrupted by armed conflicts and natural disasters. The province had over 70 tribes, with the majority being Tajiks, with some Pashtuns to the south near Helmond, and Hazaris to the northeast.⁴⁵ At least two-thirds of the population is dependent on outside assistance for sustenance, which is provided by aid and remittances. And nearly all products are imported.

There is very little infrastructure throughout the province. Herat and Kabul are at least a three day car ride east or west on sometimes impassable roads, especially during the harsh winters. Chaghcharan and Ghwr will not develop a sustaining economy until an all weather road is built to either Herat or Kabul.

Ghwr has very weak government institutions, low education levels, barely any intellectual capital (the Lithuanians believe there are 12 Afghans in the province with a college education) and over 70 different tribes.⁴⁶ Few NGOs were permanently based in the region when the Lithuanians arrived in 2005, and there were no local project implementation agencies that could secure funding for projects from the Kabul government. Three warlords dominated the province, and it took the PRT several months to control tribal conflicts. However, aside from tribal conflicts, the security situation is only affected by limited narcotics trafficking. There is only a very small Afghan National Army and National Police presence in the province, so the PRT is sometimes forced to engage in law enforcement activities.

⁴⁵ UNHCR Sub-office Herat District Profile of Ghor Province. 10/21/2002. Accessed on 5 November 2007 from www.aims.org.af/afg/dist_profiles/unhcr_district_profiles/western/ghor/chaghcharan.pdf

⁴⁶ Ibid.

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Activities of the Chaghcharan PRT and Lithuanian Special Mission:

The Special Mission, the civilian head of the PRT mission and chief Lithuanian representative in Afghanistan, identifies three activities that compromise its mission:⁴⁷

- *Political*—Actively engage with Afghan officials, members of parliament, the Provincial Governor and government, and local communities and population, and lobby the province of Ghowr in Kabul.
- *Diplomatic*—Participate in policy formation with ISAF, UN, EU, and others; represent Lithuanian in Kabul; and strengthen bilateral relation with Afghanistan.
- *Reconstruction and Development*—Coordination of preparation of the reconstruction and development projects in Ghowr province; and monitoring of the implementation of approved reconstruction and development projects.

Organization of the PRT:

The Lithuanian PRT has a military component of about 193 persons. They include approximately:

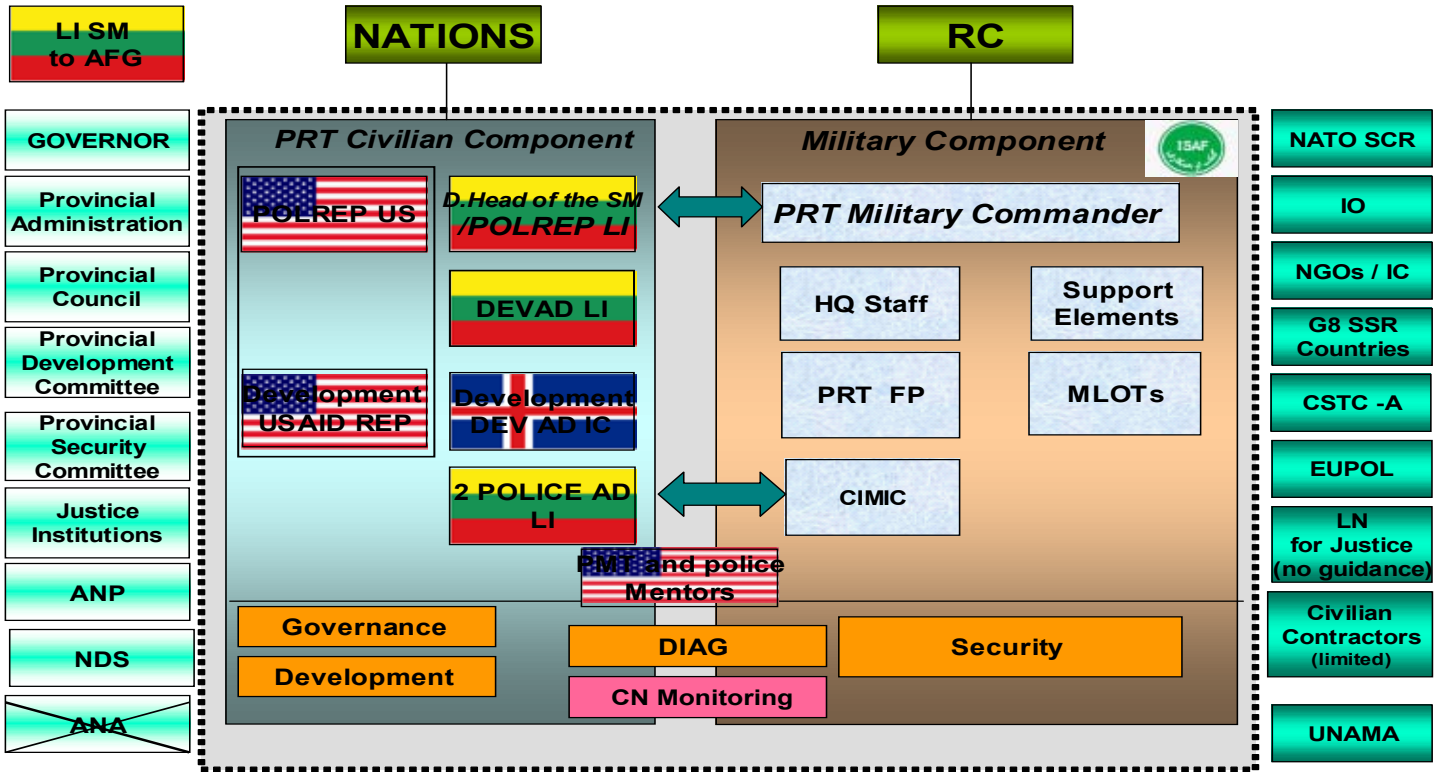
- 130 Lithuanian army soldiers
- 20 U.S. DynCorp police trainers
- 28 Croatian army soldiers
- 1 Icelandic development advisor
- 1-2 Ukrainian military doctors
- 1 Georgian military medic
- 4 Lithuanian civilian advisors (political representative, development advisors, and two police officer advisors)
- 1 U.S. State Department Representative
- 0-1 USAID Representative

The lines of authority within PRT are shown in the CHG PRT Structure:

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Figure 2. Ethnic groups and tribe overlay over Ghowr Province. **Source:** Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

CHG PRT Structure



ANNEX E

United Kingdom's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

Jonathan Gandomi and J. Nealin Parker

Executive Summary:

- The U.K. has led three PRTs in Afghanistan, in Mazar-e-Sharif, Maymaneh, and Lashkar Gah, and one in Basra, Iraq. The Mazar-e-Sharif PRT, the first led by a country other than the United States, established the British model as one with strong civil-military coordination, and effective Security Sector Reform.
- British interagency coordination between the Ministry of Defence (MOD), Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), and Department for International Development (DFID) has been institutionalized in the Post-Conflict Stabilization Unit.
- Funding structures in British PRTs facilitate long-term development with a focus on capacity building. This is due to DFID's prominent role in setting project priorities and coordinating the disbursement of funds.

I. Introduction: PRTs and Britain's National Interest

The United Kingdom is a principal ally of the United States, and it has long considered joint military operations with the US and NATO to be strategically valuable to its national interest. Participating as a fighting partner in coalitions in Afghanistan and Iraq was important for the US-U.K. alliance, and it also reinforced Britain's status as a great power in league with the other permanent five members of the Security Council. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair suffered politically by committing British troops to the Iraq invasion despite overwhelming public disapproval. With Gordon Brown's assumption of the prime minister's office, British policy has shifted from countering Iraq's central role in the war on terrorism to fulfilling the U.K.'s duty to "meet our obligations, honor our commitments and discharge our duties to the international community and to the people of Iraq."⁴⁸ From its peak contribution of 46,000 troops in major combat operations in spring 2003, the U.K. has steadily decreased its troop commitment to about 4,500 by December 2007, mostly in the southern and eastern regions. By spring 2008, only 2,500 troops will remain.⁴⁹

In Afghanistan, Britain sees its involvement as part of a UN authorized NATO operation to stabilize the country and set it on a path toward economic development and increased political freedoms. Waning enthusiasm for military involvement in Iraq has firmed Britain's commitment in Afghanistan, where troop levels increased from 6,000 to 7,700 during 2007.⁵⁰ Since 2002, the U.K. has exercised leadership in Afghanistan by taking the role of the lead nation on counter-narcotics. Britain's only PRT in Afghanistan is located in Helmand province, where 42 percent of the world's opium originates.⁵¹

Britain, like many NATO countries, uses provincial reconstruction teams as a tool to advance its larger foreign policy goals and conduct "robust military diplomacy."⁵² Additionally, the British believe PRTs can serve two purposes: (1) to co-locate and combine the post-conflict efforts of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the Department for International Development (DFID), and the Ministry of Defense (MOD) to create a "whole of government approach"; and (2) to support the governments of Iraq and Afghanistan to extend their governing capacity and better serve their own people.

II. Strategic Planning and Institutional Coordination

British PRTs combine the resources of MOD, FCO, and DFID with comparative success.⁵³ Each of the three agencies maintains cabinet level representation in the home office, but the resources, goals, mandates, training of staff and deployments vary within each institution.

48 Prime Minister Gordon Brown speech to the U.K. Parliament, 8 October 2007. 10 Downing Street Web page, <http://www.number10.gov.U.K./output/Page13450.asp>, accessed November 3, 2007.

49 Ministry of Defence website: <http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/FactSheets/OperationsFactsheets/OperationsInIraqFactsandFigures.htm>. Accessed on November 25, 2007.

50 Ibid.

51 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Annual Report 2007. <http://www.zeenews.com/znnew/articles.asp?aid=379280&sid=WOR>, accessed November 8, 2007.

52 U.K. Colonel Henderson, quoted in Jakobsen, Peter (2005), "Hebammen in Uniform," *Die Zeit*, 16 September 2004, p. 8.

53 Jakobsen, Peter. "PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful But Not Sufficient." Danish Institute for International Studies, 2005.

Resources:

The Ministry of Defense is the largest and best resourced of the three by far, but it lacks grant funds or other quick impact project (QIP) monies, so that all development grants are managed by DFID. Britain hopes to address some of the issues of disparate resourcing through a planned “stabilization fund” (\$200 million over three years⁵⁴) and the Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) (74 million per year) both of which are jointly managed by the three agencies.

Goals and mandates:

DFID maintains independent, long-term poverty alleviation goals. It is legally required to spend 90% of its budget on the eradication of extreme poverty, which makes its involvement in Iraq, a middle-income country, outside its purview, and indeed, uncomfortably cutting into its resources to operate in other countries. DFID has actively formed strategic alliances with the UN, World Bank and NGOs (when present) in both countries as the longer-term development implementers.

The MOD structure and approach to counter insurgency (COIN) may benefit Britain's efficacy in more permissive environments in Afghanistan and Iraq. MOD maintains a Joint Civil Military Co-Operation (CIMIC) unit that mainly interfaces civilians and military and does not engage in significant development activity. The British military builds its strategy off lessons learned in Northern Ireland and Malaya, and trains its troops in COIN to, when possible, remove helmets, face paint and dark glasses, leave weapons in the vehicle, and operate within the community.

Training and deployments:

The military undergoes three to four month training cycles prior to deployment. While the military is increasingly keen to include civilians in their training, civilian agencies are often unable to devote staff to the endeavor either because they have fewer staff, or because their civilian staff are already deployed. All three agencies operate on six-month deployments in both Afghanistan and Iraq, but civilian staff often remain longer, and civilian contractors longer still. This mirrors the timelines for operation of the three institutions, with much shorter timelines for military operation than for the FCO or DFID.

Coordination:

The FCO, MOD, and DFID enjoyed some success in their coordination from an early stage of PRT operations. The bureaucracies are relatively small, located close to each other, and have hiring practices that encourage “cross-pollination.” Coordination is institutionalized within the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU- soon to be renamed the “Stabilization Unit”) in July 2004. The unit is staffed with 34 members from FCO, DFID and MOD. PCRU has three main tasks: 1) conducting joint assessments and planning, 2) increasing rapid deployment capacity, and 3) centralizing expertise. In 2005, the unit took over planning of the Helmand PRT, marking its first large-scale effort to fulfill the unit's joint planning mandate and signaling a transition for the institution. It has deployed members of its staff to the Helmand and Basra PRTs and has expedited the process of hiring with a database of 500 individuals with specific skills in post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction. PCRU has trained a number of these individuals in operating in hostile environments and conducted preliminary security clearances.

Despite this ambitious framework, the PCRU is often cited as untested and still considers itself “used as required and requested, tasked rather than mandated.”

III. Field Operations and Performance

Britain has led four PRTs, three in Afghanistan in Mazar-e-Sharif, Maymaneh and Helmand, and one in Basra, Iraq. This annex discusses the three most prominent.⁵⁵ As with all countries, the PRT model differs based on environment and context. In general, the British PRT model demonstrates a high level of coordination between the ministries, with clear differentiation of tasks between them, a significant reliance on civilians and large number of civilian staff.

⁵⁴ Simon Lee, Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit, October 30, 2007.

⁵⁵ Sufficient information on the Maymaneh PRT was not available to be included in this report.

United Kingdom's Provincial Reconstruction Teams

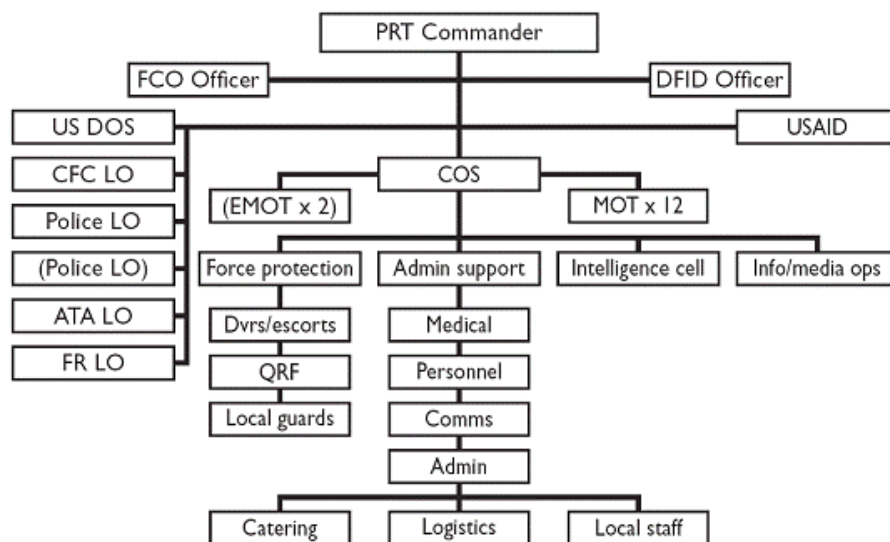
Mazar-e-Sharif:

Located in the Balkh Province, Mazar-e-Sharif is one of the key population centers in northern Afghanistan and the site of numerous conflicts between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance during the 1990s. Relative stability in Mazar after the Taliban was toppled permitted the existence of NGOs prior to the arrival of the PRT.⁵⁶ In July 2003, Mazar became both the first British PRT and first non-US PRT in Afghanistan, eventually switching to Swedish responsibility on March 15, 2006. The PRT was part of the Coalition until 2004, when ISAF expanded into the North and it became a NATO-designated PRT.

The Mazar-e-Sharif PRT was coordinated by a “triumvirate” of lead staff from FCO, DFID, and MOD. The coordinating group equally headed the PRT and experienced a strong degree of cohesion. They conducted high level briefings jointly and took responsibility for specific areas of the PRT’s activities. Notably, the lead FCO officer worked in the PRT for two years, spoke the local language, and provided valuable cultural context and advice to the MOD and DFID staff. In the second year of operation, the PRT became multi-national and was joined by representatives from USAID, France, and several Scandinavian countries. DFID also worked hand in hand with UNAMA on development plans and included a UNAMA official in weekly staff meetings.

The PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif focused its activities on training instead of QIPs and aimed to support the provincial government by developing capacity instead of attending to infrastructure needs. The British government engaged in extensive pre-deployment consultation with NGOs, the UN, and the local community both during the planning stages and after initiation of activities. The PRT took steps to avoid work that could be done by NGOs, such as health care, and other work that were beyond the scope of dealing with realistically, such as drug control.⁵⁷ This PRT focused its efforts on security sector reform, working to disarm and demobilize militias, supervise the cantonment and monitoring of heavy weapons, building Afghan troop capacity and police forces, and building a legal system.⁵⁸ The Mazar PRT became known as the “British Model” and was viewed by many observers as the best way to organize and operate PRTs particularly for its emphasis on security sector reform, assisting the police and building police related infrastructure.

Mazar-e-Sharif PRT Structure



Source: NATO/ISAF briefing

⁵⁶ “Afghanistan Briefing Pack: An Introduction to Working in Afghanistan.” The British Agencies Afghanistan Group (BAAG) and the Refugee Council. Updated 2006.

⁵⁷ Hendrickson, Dylan; Bhatia, Michael; Knight, Mark and Taylor, Annabel (2005). *A Review of DFID Involvement in Provincial Reconstruction teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan*. pg. 23.

⁵⁸ Jakobsen, p. 21.

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Mazar-e-Sharif PRT Programming				
PRT Info	Rule of Law/ Governance	Economic Development	Counter Narcotics	Reconstruction/Reconciliation
Mazar-e-Sharif, Balkh Province, Afghanistan <i>July 2003 – March 2006</i>	(1) Courthouse, (2) Materials for the judiciary, (3) Police mentoring program	(1) Trade and commerce initiatives, (2) Roads, (3) Civil service reform, and (4) Training for educators	(1) Alternative Livelihoods program	(1) DDR activity assistance to UNAMA, (2) Assistance in UN brokered ceasefire and partial disarmament between the two principal sources of local unrest, Uzbek General Abdul Rashid Dostum and Tajik commander Atta Muhammed

Basra:

The second PRT established by the U.K. was in Basra, Iraq, in April 2006, with personnel contributions from Denmark, Australia, and Canada. Basra Province has been the main location for the British troops in Iraq since 2003 and was a relatively secure environment when the PRT was established. The situation deteriorated significantly during 2006-2007 as the Badr and Mahdi Shia militias escalated a violent conflict for control of oil resources and port facilities, leaving the city in control of the militias.⁵⁹ Basra is the second largest city in Iraq, located in the south in an oil-rich region that is predominately Shia. Basra Province faced brutal repression from Saddam Hussein, particularly after the failed uprising subsequent to the Gulf War. US encouragement of efforts to overthrow Saddam without, ultimately, any tangible support remains a salient memory among the population. Deterioration of security led the British team of civilian experts to abandon its offices after repeated rocket and mortar attacks. The PRT shifted efforts to trying to bring provincial officials to its base at the commercial airport, which significantly limited its effectiveness.

After the experience in Mazar-e-Sharif, British PRTs became more civilian in character. The Basra PRT contained six DFID representatives compared with one in Mazar-e-Sharif. The Basra PRT is headed by an FCO officer who reports back to London and the U.K. Embassy in Baghdad. Several participants in this PRT noted that MOD, FCO, and DFID components experienced difficulty working together at the leadership level. Originally, DFID and FCO personnel were located in Basra Palace with UN and other international staff, and the British military was based near the Basra international airfield. Not surprisingly, living in different locations complicated attempts at coordination. Traveling from Basra Palace to the airport during heightened periods of insecurity required a helicopter on which civilians sometimes where unable to secure seating. The civilians eventually relocated to the U.K's main military base at the airport, but some reported that the collocation did not improve the civil-military working relationships.

The Basra PRT's main activities have centered on two main areas: (1) rule of law and governance; and (2) economic and social development. Activities during the first year were not part of a larger provincial plan, though that year the PRT helped the provincial council write its first Provincial Development Plan. In 2007, the council made its third plan for 2008 and will consequently receive \$205 million from the central government.

Basra PRT Programming		
PRT Info	Rule of Law/Governance	Economic Development
Basra, Iraq <i>April 2006- present</i>	(1) New courthouse and prison, (2) "Human Rights Passport" designed to give law enforcement officials access to human rights standards, (3) Legal, forensic, and human rights training to judges and lawyers, and (4) Capacity-building of the provincial government to manage public finances and the economy, including planning and budgeting. As a result of the PRT's work, the Basra Provincial Council was able to access \$205 million of Central Government funding in 2007.	(1) Easing travel and commercial restrictions between Basra and Kuwait, (2) Bankers association and businessmen forum established (3) Future plans for microfinance lending program (4) Several thousand date palm trees

⁵⁹ "Review of the Effectiveness of the Provincial Reconstruction Team Program in Iraq." Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR). 18 October 2007. pg. 32.

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Helmand:

Britain's third PRT is located in Lashkar Gah, the capital of Afghanistan's largest and Pashtun-dominant province of Helmand. The Helmand PRT was handed off by the US on April 20, 2006 after extensive pre-deployment planning by Britain's PCRU. The arrival of British troops marked a return to the region after 126 years when British troops were defeated at Maiwand. In the 1970s, Helmand was once one of the most agriculturally productive areas in Afghanistan. But after years of conflict and drought, much of this productivity has been lost, or redirected towards poppy cultivation and drug trafficking.⁶⁰ Before the British took over President Karzai replaced the previous governor who was known to have ties to the drug trade. In summer 2006, NATO and Afghan troops began an offensive against the Taliban in the region, reaching a cease-fire agreement with local fighters later that fall. However, security remains tense and influences the PRT's activities. NATO forces have continued to hunt Taliban forces in the region and manage the local warring tribes involved in the opium trade.

The Helmand PRT reports to a FCO staff member who acts as the regional coordinator in Khandahar. There are 28 civilians working in the PRT, including one DFID staff, six PCRU staff, seven FCO staff, and a number of police mentors hired as consultants through the FCO. The PRT also contains a UNAMA representative.

The Helmand PRT uses a "four strand" approach in its activities, combining 1) security, 2) counter-narcotics, 3) social and economic development, and 4) governance and capacity building. The PRT follows the strategy of the Provincial Development Council to determine the activities for the province and works to support their efforts. Though the PRT plan was developed in a more benign environment than what was encountered in summer 2006 once the PRT's activities began, it still persists along the four strand approach.

Lshkar Gah PRT Programming				
PRT Info	Governance	Economic Development	Counter Narcotics	Security
<p>Lashkar Gah, Helmand, Afghanistan</p> <p><i>Established by the US in 2004. The British took over April 20, 2006 as a coalition/OEF PRT</i></p>	<p>(1) Infrastructure improvements to provincial justice bodies, such as the courthouse and prosecutor's office, (2) training for media, and (3) upgrades to state-run and local radio stations, including the installation of a BBC transmitter.</p>	<p>(1) Expansion of provincial markets in Lashkar Gah and Chai-i-Anjeer, (2) upgrades to flood protection and irrigation systems, (3) new classroom for boys and girls, (4) more than 200 wells dug, and (5) 50 km of roads built.</p>	<p>(1) 30,000 of equipment given to local farmers, (2) repairs made to counter-narcotics office in Lashkar Gah, (3) rehabilitation of provincial civilian airport, and (4) "conservation corps" projects, such as digging ditches, intended to provide an alternative to poppy growing.</p>	<p>(1) Training of the police and army, (2) new police and army uniforms, (3) a photo ID system, and (4) a new Helmand Provincial Security Coordination Centre in Lashkar Gah.</p>

VI. Conclusions

While Britain's future use of PRTs remains undefined, there has been a significant effort to institutionalize mechanisms of cooperation between the MOD, FCO and DFID. The creation of the PCRU and common funding mechanisms should continue to bind together these ministry's post-conflict reconstruction efforts. Britain is more likely to engage in future PRT-related activities than a country that has not led multiple PRTs and created supporting bureaucratic architecture. British PRTs may still undergo significant evolution, particularly as MOD works to create an initial set of metrics to determine effectiveness. One military-political analyst suggested two innovations, "Mobile PRTs" that could follow troops immediately after kinetic operations, and "Indigenous PRTs" made up of Afghans with foreign capacity building and support. In the meantime, PRTs will have to demonstrate they are a cost effective and meaningful tool of stabilization to stay central to post-conflict reconstruction methodologies.

⁶⁰ Foreign and Commonwealth Office Web site. Located at: <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1165341215272>

* MOD website, www.mod.gov.uk

ANNEX F

United States' Provincial Reconstruction Teams

David Kuwayama

Executive Summary:

- The US has now implemented three different PRT models, one in Afghanistan and two in Iraq.
- US efforts at effective interagency collaboration have been hampered by the absence of corresponding inter-agency processes in Washington.
- The Department of Defense exerts disproportionate influence over PRT field activities. ePRTs have improved the ability to engage communities outside of provincial capitals.

I. Introduction: PRTs and The US National Interest

Since the initial deployment of PRTs in 2002, increasing attention has been paid to the role that these joint civil-military units serve in advancing US national interests in both Afghanistan and Iraq. US national interests, broadly defined with respect to both theaters, include:

- Creating stable central governments with capacity and legitimacy
- Preventing the development and spread of political extremist ideology
- Countering insurgent and terrorist elements.

In practice, advancing these interests requires the development of civic, economic and governance capacities – a particularly challenging task in unstable security environments. PRTs, because they combine military capability with civilian expertise, have been viewed as the most promising conduit for accelerating the development of civic, economic and governance capacities outside of secure zones. Along with the increased attention to PRTs has come increased expectations: under the President's New Way Forward in Iraq, unveiled in January, the Iraq PRT program was roughly doubled in size,⁶¹ suggesting a belief within the upper echelons of the administration that PRTs are best positioned to serve these mission-critical purposes.

A total of 50 PRTs are functioning today, 25 in Afghanistan and 25 in Iraq. Each is managed by a lead nation, which retains control over the unit's design, staffing and operations. In Afghanistan, twelve of the 25 PRTs are US-led (one jointly with Romania); the remaining thirteen are run by Coalition partners.⁶² Although this figure alone suggests a fair amount of burden-sharing, the distribution of forces is anything but random. US-led PRTs are clustered in volatile Regional Command-East (encompassing Kabul, Jalalabad, Khost, and the Waziristan border) where conflict is fiercest. In Iraq, Coalition participation has been less robust. Of the 25 Iraq PRTs, ten are located in provincial capitals and relate directly to provincial governments and fifteen smaller "ePRTs" are embedded within Army brigades or Marine regiments.⁶³ The majority of PRTs (22 of them) are led by US forces. Only three of the standard PRTs, and none of the ePRTs, are operated by Coalition partners (one each by the UK, Italy, and South Korea).

II. Strategic Planning and Institutional Coordination

Mandates:

Civil-military integration requires effective collaboration between military, diplomatic and development agencies. USG respectively tasks these roles to the Department of Defense (DoD), the Department of State (DoS), and the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Other USG agencies with less prominent PRT roles include the Department of Justice (DoJ), Department of Agriculture (USDA), and the US Army Corps of Engineers (ACE).

61 The White House. Fact Sheet: The New Way Forward in Iraq. January 2007. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070110-3.html>

62 Katzman K. CRS Report for Congress RL30588, Afghanistan: Post-War Governance, Security and US Policy. 10 September 2007. p CRS-58.

63 Tarnoff C. CRS Report for Congress RL31833, Iraq: Reconstruction Assistance. 25 June 2007. p CRS-20.

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The Department of Defense (DoD) is the lead agency tasked with prosecuting the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. It wields enormous power in terms of both financial and logistic resources. For FY2007, DoD's base budget amounted to \$439.3 billion,⁶⁴ a total which dwarfed funding for either DoS (\$9.5 billion⁶⁵) or USAID (\$3.15 billion⁶⁶). This wide disparity in resources generates disproportionate DoD influence over both the policy planning process in Washington and field-level operations. DoD's primary interests in PRTs are twofold. First, under the terms of DoD Directive 3000.05 (November 2005),⁶⁷ stability operations are considered "a core U.S. military mission" of "priority comparable to combat operations;" support for PRTs falls within this mandate. Second, DoD views PRTs as tools for "winning hearts and minds" as well as marginalizing insurgents and extremists. In this sense, DoD views them as important counterinsurgency tools. In order to leverage this aspect of PRTs, the military has focused PRT activities on Quick Impact Projects (QIPs), small-scale short-term projects aimed at pacifying local populations and building trust.

National Security Presidential Directive 44 (December 2005) explicitly tasked the Department of State (DoS) as the lead agency in coordination of US post-conflict reconstruction efforts.⁶⁸ DoS views PRTs as a platform from which to promote a spectrum of US interests, including counter-terrorism, social and political moderation, regional stability, and narcotics eradication. DoS plays a lead role in the management of Iraq PRTs; they are coordinated by US Embassy Baghdad, and each Iraq PRT is led by a DoS Foreign Service Officer (FSO).

USAID views PRTs as a vehicle for jump-starting social, political and economic development projects in the earliest stages of transition away from conflict and insecurity. Given its focus on long-term development, its bias has been toward moving PRTs away from short term projects as soon as the security situation permits longer term planning.

Coordination:

Consistent coordination of PRT-related interagency activities is restricted to field and country levels. Executive planning in Washington remains mostly stove-piped by agency. There currently exists no standing, executive-level interagency consultative body specifically tasked with overseeing and coordinating interagency PRT activities. The downstream effect of the lack of a unified executive-level decision-making structure is difficult to quantify; however, former PRT members have commented that the divergent mandates officials bring from their home agencies can create friction in the field - a dynamic made worse by the largely consensus-based decision making process.⁶⁹

Operational control at the theater level has changed over time. In Afghanistan, PRTs initially fell under the command of US forces in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). As NATO-led ISAF extended its mandate over Afghanistan, PRTs were transferred to ISAF control, a process which was completed in October 2006.⁷⁰ Afghan PRTs receive daily operational guidance from a PRT Working Group and policy guidance from the PRT Executive Steering Committee (ESC), both located in Kabul.⁷¹ Although ISAF retains theater-level control, each PRT continues to be individually managed at the tactical level by its lead country. Consistent with their primarily military nature, the activities of US PRTs in Afghanistan are coordinated by Combined Joint Task Force 82 (CJTF-82), the National Command Element lead for US forces in Afghanistan.⁷²

64 Comptroller, Department of Defense. "Fiscal 2007 Department of Defense Budget is Released." 6 February 2006. http://www.defenselink.mil/comptroller/defbudget/fy2007/2007_Budget_Rollout_Release.pdf

65 Bureau of Resource Management, Department of State. FY 2006 Performance and Accountability Report. November 2006. <http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/perfrpt/2006/html/76525.htm>

66 Randall, Tobias. Fiscal Year 2007 Budget Hearing for the U.S. Agency for International Development. Testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs. 8 June 2006. <http://www.state.gov/f/releases/remarks2006/67969.htm>

67 <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300005p.pdf>

68 <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspsd/nspsd-44.html>

69 Interview with the former commander of an Afghan PRT, 19 October 2007, Princeton, NJ; Interview with the former USAID representative to an Afghan PRT, 21 September 2007, Princeton, NJ.

70 ISAF PRT Handbook, Edition 3. 3 February 2007. p 1.

71 Perito, Robert. The U.S. Experience with Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan. http://www.usip.org/congress/testimony/2007/1017_perito.html

72 Wilkes B. Statement of Major General Bobby Wilkes, Deputy Director, Politico-Military Affairs (Asia) before the House Armed Services Committee Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations on Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) Programs. 4 October 2007.

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In Iraq, theater level command over all PRTs has been retained by USG. As part of the transition of oversight responsibilities from the Iraq Reconstruction Management Office (IRMO) to the Iraq Transition Assistance Office (ITAO) in May 2007, the Office of Provincial Affairs (OPA) was created within US Embassy Baghdad to provide operational oversight to PRTs. Consistent with the civilian nature of PRTs in Iraq, the chain of operational authority remains housed within the State Department. However, military representation is present at all levels of oversight, and PRTs remain heavily dependent upon the logistic support of Multi-National Force Iraq (MNF-I) to travel and operate.⁷³

Resources:

Funding for Afghan PRT operations initially came from DoD's Overseas Humanitarian Disaster and Civic Aid (OH-DACA) budget,⁷⁴ but over time this has shifted to reconstruction aid channeled through the ESF, supplemented by rapidly disbursable funds from DoD's Commanders' Emergency Response Program (CERP). For FY2007, CERP funds for Afghanistan totaled \$231 million,⁷⁵ and ESF funds allocated for PRTs amounted to \$216 million.⁷⁶ Most of these funds went to support QIPs. In October 2006, Afghan PRTs began to implement a successor program to QIP, the new Local Governance and Community Development (LGCD) program, with total funding of approximately \$249 million.⁷⁷ The LGCD program supports projects aimed at improving provincial and local governance capacity, encouraging civil society activity, and promoting security and stability. In September 2007, LGCD replaced QIP as the primary mechanism of ESF aid disbursement in Afghanistan,⁷⁸ reflecting a relative shift in PRT priorities toward governance capacity building.

Iraq PRT programs receive funds from several sources. Initially, the majority of reconstruction funds for Iraq were sourced from the Congressionally-mandated Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund (IRRF).⁷⁹ IRRF is being drawn to a close, and the bulk of reconstruction funds are now being channeled through ESF. Three categories of ESF funds are specifically targeted for Iraq PRT programs: the PRT/PRDC program, the Local Government Program, and the Quick Reaction Fund (a shared DoS / USAID fund designed to mimic the flexibility of DoD's CERP).⁸⁰ Other ESF supported programs distribute funds directly to provinces, including the Community Stabilization Program (CSP), Civil Society Program, and INMA Agri-business Program.^{81 82} Although these funds are not specifically administered through PRTs, the PRTs sometimes play an advisory role in channeling these funds from the central administration. As of June 2007, approximately \$1.9 billion of USG funds had been allocated to support Iraq PRT operations through either IRRF or ESF; \$644 million (33.5%) went to operational funding, while \$1,280 million (66.5%) went to program funding.⁸³ Significant amounts of additional program funding were sourced from DoD CERP; a total of \$1.34 billion in CERP funds had been disbursed in Iraq by October 2007,⁸⁴ although only an unspecified fraction of these funds had been disbursed in support of PRT programs.

III. Field Operations and Performance

Organizational Structure: The US has implemented three different PRT models. The organizational chart of each varies both in terms of staffing and lines of authority. In Afghanistan, US PRTs are composed of 50-100 individuals, with an average size of 80.⁸⁵ Lead authority is retained by a military officer, with the exception of PRT Panjshir which is led

73 Perito R. The US Experience with Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan. US Institute of Peace. 18 October 2007.

74 McNernery MJ. Stabilization and Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Are PRTs a Model or a Muddle? Parameters. Winter 2005-06, pp 32-46.

75 US Government Accountability Office. GAO-07-801SP: Report to Congressional Committees: Securing, Stabilizing, And Reconstructing Afghanistan: Key Issues for Congressional Oversight. May 2007. <http://www.gao.gov/htext/d07801sp.html>

76 Katzman. p CRS-54.

77 USAID Afghanistan. <http://afghanistan.usaid.gov/en/Program.31a.aspx>.

78 USAID Afghanistan. Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Summer 2007. http://www.usaid.gov/locations/asia_near_east/documents/countries/afghanistan/afgh_prt_jul2007.pdf

79 SIGIR Quarterly Report to Congress (30 April 2007). SIGIR Observations: Moving Beyond The IRRF. p 3.

80 October 2007 - Section 2207 Report on Iraq Relief and Reconstruction. Appendix III, Economic Support Funds. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/94899.pdf>

81 SIGIR Quarterly Report to Congress (30 April 2007). Economic Support Fund: Overview. p 78.

82 Department of State. Fact Sheet on Provincial Reconstruction Teams. 1 August 2007. http://iraq.usembassy.gov/iraq/20060223_prt_fact_sheet.html

83 SIGIR Quarterly Report to Congress (30 July 2007). Section 2: Provincial Reconstruction Teams. p 56. <http://www.sigir.mil/reports/quarterlyreports/Jul07/Default.aspx>

84 SIGIR Quarterly Report to Congress (30 October 2007). Section 2a: US Funding for Iraq Reconstruction. p 39. http://www.sigir.mil/reports/quarterlyreports/Oct07/pdf/Section2a_-_October_2007.pdf

85 Katzman. p CRS-30.

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by a DoS senior FSO.⁸⁶ Staffing is heavily weighted towards military personnel, given the priority placed upon force protection. Beyond supplying a force protection unit (normally a platoon of Army National Guard), DoD supplies civil affairs officers, HQ elements, translators and PSYOPs staff. Civilian personnel usually numbering from 3 to 5, including a USAID Field Program Officer (FPO), DoS FSO, and other USG agency representatives. An individual from the Afghan Interior Ministry is often assigned. Afghan PRTs are not staffed to engage in offensive military action or hold terrain; however, they are normally co-located with combat units upon which they can call for fire support in the event of insurgent attack.

In Iraq, PRTs are somewhat smaller, varying in size from 30-80 members.⁸⁷ Iraq PRTs are led by DoS FSOs, with deputy authority delegated to a military officer. Civilian leadership is mirrored by staffing, which is heavily weighted toward civilians. Most Iraq PRTs are located on US military Forward Operating Bases (FOBs), in or near provincial capitals. Interagency dispute over whether the US military would provide protection, combined with a worsening security atmosphere in much of Iraq during 2005-06, led to many PRTs being virtually paralyzed, unable to deploy from FOBs for prolonged periods of time. To provide for PRT mobility, DoS and DoD signed a Memorandum of Agreement in February 2007,⁸⁸ under which PRTs are now promised US military escort for travel “outside the wire.”

In January 2007, a new form of PRT, the embedded PRT (ePRT), was developed as part of the President's decision to “surge” additional U.S. forces into Baghdad and Anbar Province. These significantly smaller units consist of only four core members (a team leader, senior development specialist, civil affairs officer, and bilingual-bicultural adviser), accompanied by 8-12 civilian specialists and several assigned military officers.⁸⁹ They are designed to operate within either an Army Brigade Combat Team (BCTs) or a Marine Corps Regiment. Their smaller size permits greater freedom of movement in challenging security environments and facilitates engagement of leaders at local community levels. By engaging populations from the “bottom up,” ePRTs complement the work of standard PRTs, which focus on engaging provincial leaders.⁹⁰ ePRTs are often described by senior US officials as “the civilian side of the Surge.”⁹¹

Planning and Execution: Although the organizational chart in each US PRT is well defined, the lines of authority are less clear than would seem on paper. Each PRT has a defined leader, but these leaders do not exert command authority over the activities of other agencies' staff members. As a result, there can be incoherence in the planning process.⁹² Joint goal-setting, followed by subsequent goal-oriented interagency project development, does not appear to be a consistent feature of PRT decision-making. Instead, staff members often focus on projects most consistent with their own agency mandates. Cross-consultation does take place at regular meetings, but most often for the purposes of securing the logistic support and acquiescence of other team members.

Implementation: US PRTs seek to accomplish their strategic goals by engaging in concrete activities - as one former commander termed them, “tactical operations with strategic implications.”⁹³ Types of activities include:

- Establishing and strengthening relationships with provincial and local political, religious and business leaders, especially moderates
- Providing training and advice in order to improve capacity to govern
- Engaging in small- to moderate-scale reconstruction and development projects
- Improving security for local populations by coordinating local security structures; and
- Supporting local business development initiatives in pursuit of improving local economies.

86 Katzman, p CRS-31.

87 Tarnoff, p CRS-20.

88 SIGIR-07-015 (18 October 2007). p 5. http://armedservices.house.gov/pdfs/OI101807/SIGIR_Testimony101807.pdf

89 SIGIR Quarterly Report to Congress (30 July 2007). Section 2: Provincial Reconstruction Teams. p 53.

90 McCann, Chris. Multi-National Force Iraq. Feature Stories. “Provincial Reconstruction Teams rebuild Iraq from bottom up.” http://www.mnf-iraq.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13065&Itemid=110

91 LaFranchi, Howard. “US civilians drive Iraq's other surge.” Christian Science Monitor, 12 June 2007. <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0612/p01s02-woiq.htm>

92 Interview with the former program manager of an Iraq PRT, 5 October 2007, Princeton, NJ.

93 Interview with the former commander of an Afghan PRT, 19 October 2007, Princeton, NJ.

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In Afghanistan, the bulk of program funds have been allocated to QIPs. By the end of 2006, Afghan PRTs had completed 469 QIP projects,⁹⁴ resulting in the construction or rehabilitation of over 400 schools, 600 wells, and 170 health clinics,⁹⁵ and support for government capacity building, micro-finance, job placement, gender-related and media projects.⁹⁶ In addition, community irrigation systems were built, roads were improved, small power systems were installed, and government buildings were constructed. Although PRTs are an important conduit for providing reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan, most US reconstruction aid is delivered through other channels; out of \$4.39 billion in USAID reconstruction funds allocated to Afghanistan from 2002-06, only \$172 million (3.9%) were directly allocated to PRT programs.⁹⁷ PRTs also engage in security and stability operations, such as patrolling, monitoring, influence, and mediation efforts. Comprehensive data on the combined activities and achievements of Afghan PRTs are not readily available.

In Iraq, PRTs have engaged in hundreds of reconstruction and development projects. They work with Provincial Reconstruction and Development Committees (PRDCs), deliberative bodies that include Iraqis, to nominate, vet and select projects which best meet the needs of the population. Selected projects are then submitted to the National Embassy Team (NET) in Baghdad for approval, following which funds are distributed, primarily by the Iraqi government. In FY 2006, \$315 million was allocated to fund 201 NET approved PRT/PRDC projects.⁹⁸ Most funds went to small infrastructure projects, like village water projects, sewer projects, electrical networking, road and bridge development, and school construction and renovation.

Through the Local Governance Program, PRTs along with Research Triangle Institute (RTI) contractors provided governance training to over 2,000 council members, 28 governors, 42 deputy governors, 420 directors general, and provincial council staff members. They also engaged in democracy promotion and education for over 750,000 Iraqi civilians.⁹⁹ PRTs also helped direct the expenditure of CSP funds on public works projects aimed at raising employment levels in regions with large numbers of disaffected male youth.

Perhaps the most important achievement of Iraq PRTs has been their assistance to provincial governments in spending provincial budgets. These totaled over \$2 billion in FY 2006 and \$2.3 billion in FY 2007, totals which far exceeded PRT program appropriations. With PRT assistance, 100% of the FY 2006 budget and 60% of the FY 2007 budget had been allocated by Iraqi provincial authorities as of October 2007.¹⁰⁰ PRTs also played important consulting and advisory roles to provincial officials in other ways, helping develop capital investment strategies and provincial development plans, assisting with the establishment of court systems, instituting microfinance loan programs, and developing job creation programs.¹⁰¹

The role of ePRTs has been less well defined than that of PRTs. ePRTs seek to engage municipal and community-level political and business leaders. They have access to the QRF and therefore have a ready source of easily disbursable funds for small-scale projects. Examples of ePRT projects include assistance with local budget allocation, veterinary care for farm animals, advice to farmers in forming cooperatives or associations, and micro-finance assistance to small businesses. For example, the ePRT attached to 2nd BCT, 3rd Infantry Division distributed \$1000 micro-grants to several small businesses in Hawr Rajab and Arab Jabour, including three butchers, a glass and aluminum fabricator, a window maker, a baker and a painter.¹⁰² Because ePRTs are new, comprehensive data on projects is not available. However, anecdotal reports suggests that ePRT operations are helping to improve relations between military forces and local populations.

94 USAID Afghanistan. Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Summer 2007. http://www.usaid.gov/locations/asia_near_east/documents/countries/afghanistan/afgh_prt_jul2007.pdf

95 Jakobsen PV. PRTs in Afghanistan: Successful but not Sufficient. Danish Institute for International Studies. DIIS Report 2005:6. p 19.

96 USAID Afghanistan. <http://afghanistan.usaid.gov/en/Program.31a.aspx>.

97 GAO-07-801SP. Securing, Stabilizing, and Reconstructing Afghanistan. p 29. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d07801sp.pdf>

98 US Department of State. October 2007 - Section 2207 Report on Iraq Relief and Reconstruction. Appendix III, Economic Support Funds. p III-1. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/94899.pdf>

99 Section 2207 Report. p III-4.

100 Section 2207 Report. p III-2.

101 The White House. Fact Sheet: Overview of Provincial Reconstruction Teams' Mission in Iraq: Expanded provincial reconstruction teams speed Iraq's transition to self-reliance. 13 July 2007.

102 Stadel, Jason. "Seeds of Commerce Planted in Former al-Qaida Sanctuary." Multi-National Force Iraq, Freedom Journal Iraq. http://www.mnf-iraq.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15446&Itemid=130

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IV. Conclusions

The need for more effective interagency collaboration will remain a pressing issue in US foreign engagements for the foreseeable future. Yet the U.S. has not announced plans to institutionalize PRTs, largely because of persistent questions regarding their effectiveness. Regardless of the fate of PRTs as currently defined, interagency collaboration will remain central to the effective execution of US foreign policy goals so long as civil society and governance capacity development are considered objectives essential to overall strategic success.

